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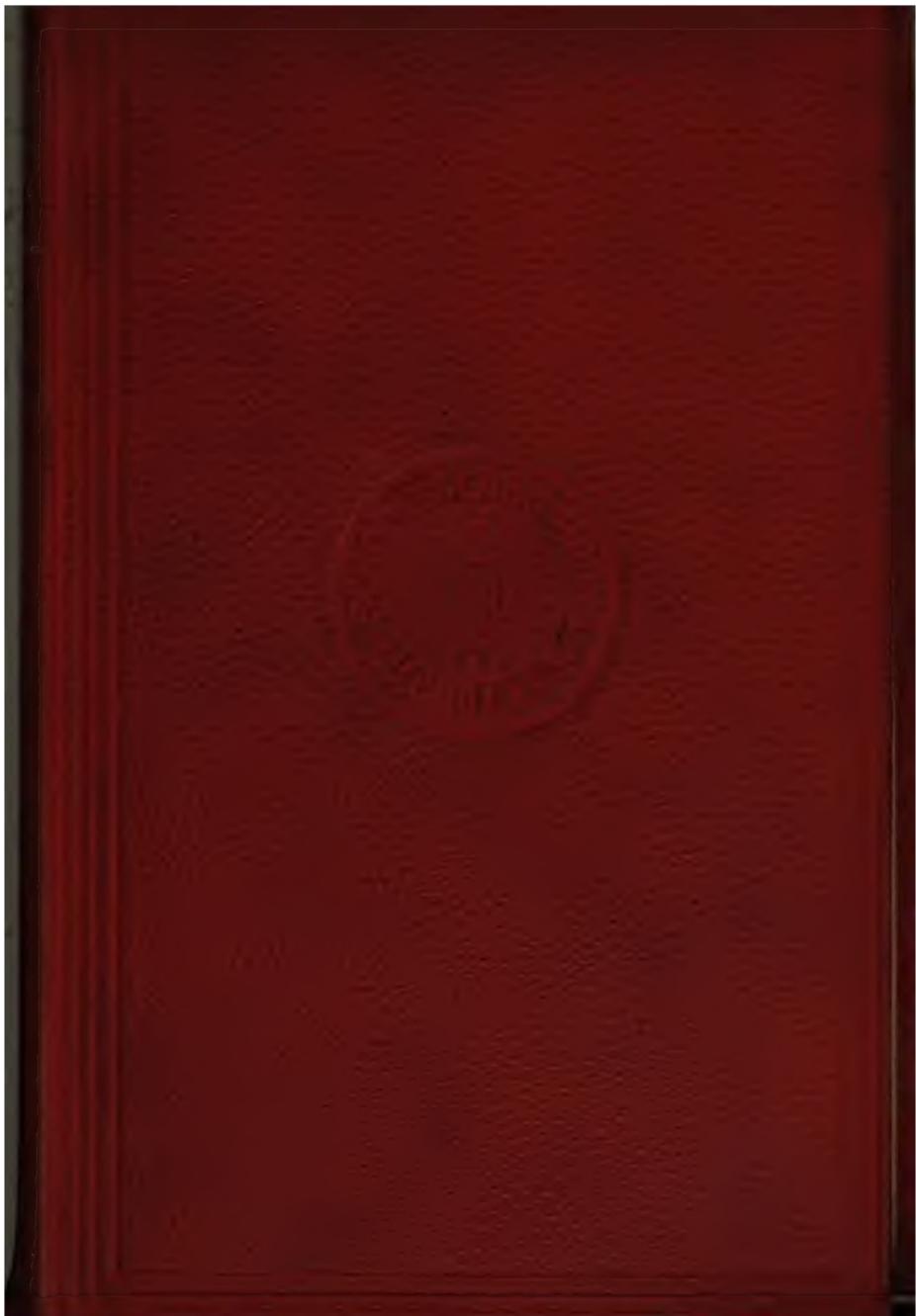
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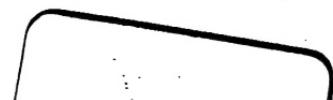
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ΠΛΟΥΤΑΡΧΟΥ ΘΕΜΙΣΤΟΚΛΗΣ

ΠΛΟΥΤΑΡΧΟΥ ΘΕΜΙΣΤΟΚΛΗΣ

PLUTARCH'S

LIFE OF THEMISTOKLES

*WITH INTRODUCTION EXPLANATORY NOTES
AND CRITICAL APPENDIX*

BY

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PREFACE

‘**THERE** are three points to be considered’ says Wyttenbach ‘by the Editor of an ancient author : the first is whether the author be worth editing ; the second whether an edition, worthy of the author, is already in existence or required ; the third whether he is himself competent for the task.’ In regard to Plutarch’s Lives the first of these points may be taken for granted as incontrovertible ; the second also admits of no doubt, because no edition of the Greek text of any of the Parallel Lives has ever been published with English notes, although there is a great demand of some book to rank with, if not to supersede, Xenophon as a text-book in Schools and Colleges. Of the third requisite I must leave my readers to judge. Whatever may be their judgment, few, I think, will have cause to complain that I have given too little help in my commentary to young students. If only

they will make proper use of Professor Goodwin's excellent *Greek Grammar* (Macmillan, 1879), to which constant references are given on all points of syntax, they ought not to find any difficulty in mastering the text with the assistance I have provided for them. In preparing the notes I have consulted all previously written commentaries. The editions which I have found of most service are those of C. Sintenis with German notes (Leipzig, 1851), and of F. Blass (Leipzig, 1872) also with German notes. To the latter I am especially indebted, as supplying the substance of pp. xxxix—li of my Introduction.

SCHOOL HOUSE, IPSWICH,

Dec. 2, 1881

In the Notes the numbers in the Margin indicate the Pages of the text. The number prefixed to each note refers to the line on the page of the text. Where a reference is given, in the body of a note, to the text, the first number refers to the Chapter, the second to the Section of that chapter.

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ΑΓΑΘΙΟΥ ΣΧΟΛΑΣΤΙΚΟΥ
εἰς εἰκόνα Πλογτάρχου

Σείο πολυκλήεντα τύπον στᾶσαν, Χαιρωνεῦ
Πλογτάρχε, κρατερῶν γιέες Αγύστον,
ὅττι παραλλήλοις βίοις Ἐλληνας ἀρίστος
·Ρώμης εὐπολέμοις ἡρμοσας ἐνναέταις.
ἀλλὰ τεοῦ βιότοι παράλληλον βίον ἄλλον
οὐδέ τοι γένεται γράψαις· οὐ γάρ ὁμοῖον ἔχεις.

INTRODUCTION

Life of Plutarch

1. IT is strange that so little is known of the personal history of Plutarch; that he who wrote the lives of so many others should have found no writer, Greek or Latin, to do the same for himself¹: and that not even the dates of his birth and death should have come down to us. Nothing in fact is known about him but what may be gathered from various notices scattered through his own writings. The plain facts of his life, as ascertained from these, may be told very shortly. He was born not later than A.D. 50 at Chaeroneia in the north-west of Boeotia, a town which, although small and insignificant, was nevertheless rich in historical memories. It commanded the entrance to the famous plain, called by his favourite hero Epameinondas ‘the dancing-plot of Ares’²

¹ M. Octave Gréard *de la morale de Plutarque* ed. 3 Paris 1880: ‘nul écrivain, grec ou latin, n'a fait pour lui ce qu'il avait fait pour tant d'autres; le biographe de l'antiquité n'a pas de biographie.’

² Ἀρεος δρυότρπαν Plut. vit. Marcell. c. 21, τολέμου δρυότρπαν apophthegm. regg. et imperatt. § 18. R. Volkmann *Leben, Schriften und Philosophie des Plutarch von Chaeronea* Berlin 1873 p. 16.

INTRODUCTION

at the time when two of the three great battles³ named after it were as yet unfought. Here his family had been settled for many years, and was of good standing and local repute. He speaks incidentally of his great grandfather Nikarchus, who was at his native place at the time of the struggle between Antony and Octavius⁴, and makes constant mention of Lamprias, his grandfather, as taking part in the *συμποσιακὰ προβλήματα* or 'Table talk,' which occupy a considerable portion of his miscellaneous writings⁵; a lively, amiable and genial old gentleman, fond of good cheer and good stories and with a fund of curious anecdote⁶. Plutarch's father also was a man of cultivation, who could occasionally take part in the discourses on various topics recorded by his son, but although a shrewd and sensible man, he does not seem to have been such an adept in the art of conversation or so brilliant and fluent a speaker as the grandfather⁷.

³ That in B.C. 447 when the Athenians were defeated by the Boeotians (Thuc. i 118); that in B.C. 338 when Philip of Macedon defeated the united forces of the Athenians and Boeotians, a day fatal to the liberties of Greece (Strabo x 2, 87); and the third in B.C. 86 when Sulla defeated the army of Mithridates (Plutarch vit. Sull. c. 19).

⁴ vit. Anton. c. 68.

⁵ e.g. i 5, 5 ἦν δὲ Λαμπρίας, δὲ ἡμέτερος πάππος, ἐν τῷ πίνειν εὐεργέτικώταρος αὐτὸς αὐτοῦ καὶ λογιώταρος. Comp. iv 5 where he takes part in a discourse on the reasons why the Jews abstain from pork; also i 2, 2, v 2, 6.

⁶ vit. Ant. c. 28, where Lamprias repeats a story told him by the physician Philotas, illustrating the luxuriousness of Antony's life in Egypt.

⁷ symp. ii 8, 1 δὲ πατήρ τιμῶν θύμων περὶ τὰς λογγιόπλας αὐτοσχέδιος ἦν, where the table talk becomes stable talk and he

He was fond of exciting the curiosity of the young, whom he liked to gather around him⁸. When he was more than seventy years old, Plutarch remembered the lessons he received from him on his entrance into life. "I remember" he says "when I myself was still a young man, I was sent in company with another on a deputation to the pro-consul; my colleague, it so happened, was unable to proceed, and I saw the pro-consul and performed the commission alone. Upon my return, when I was about to lay down my office and to give an account of its discharge, my father got up in the assembly and bade me privately to take care not to say 'I went,' but 'we went,' nor 'I said,' but 'we said,' and in the whole narration to give my companion his share⁹."

There are other members also of the family mentioned by him, his father-in-law Alexion¹⁰, his brother Lamprias, who was a sprightly and 'enjoué'¹¹ character, a good trencherman, as became a Boeotian¹², who loved well a scoff and a jest¹³, and was ever ready to join in all sorts of games and amusements. His second brother, Timon, appears only twice¹⁴ in the *Sympsiaca*, which is surprising, considering how often

is incidentally mentioned as κεχρημένος δεὶ κρατιστεύοντις ἄτος.

⁸ *sypos.* III 7, 1; I 2, 2.

⁹ *praec. ger. reip.* 20, 6.

¹⁰ *sypos.* VII 3.

¹¹ Gréard *l. c.* p. 26, cf. Archbp Trench *Five Lectures on Plutarch* p. 21, Volkmann *l. c.* p. 23.

¹² *sypos.* II 2, 1, *de esu carn.* I § 6.

¹³ ib. VIII 6, 5 ὑβριστής καὶ φιλογέλως φύσει, cf. I 2, 5; II 5, 1.

¹⁴ I 2; II 5.

other names recur. He seems to have been, unlike Lamprias, of a reserved and thoughtful disposition. In his treatise *περὶ φιλαδελφίας* ‘on brotherly love,’ dedicated to the brothers Nigrinus and Quintus, Plutarch bears a touching record to his affection for himself¹⁵. With these brothers Plutarch lived on the most affectionate terms both in the lifetime of their father and after his death. He was treated by them with great respect as ‘the philosopher of the family,’ and at the household table the solution of questions on which the father hesitated to pronounce an opinion was generally referred to him.

2. Plutarch commenced his philosophical studies at Athens, under the direction of Ammonius, with a fellow-pupil named Themistokles, a descendant of the hero of Salamis¹⁶, in the year A.D. 66 when Nero was travelling in Greece¹⁷. This Ammonius, according to Eunapius (*vit. sophist.* *praef.* p. 11), was a Peripatetic philosopher of Egyptian origin but resident at Athens, where he was chief magistrate (*στρατηγός*) of the city: but by others¹⁸ he is identified with the celebrated

¹⁵ Π. p. 487 εἶμοι μὲν γὰρ διὶ πολλῶν δέξιων χάριτος παρὰ τῆς τέχνης γεγονότων ἡ Τίμωνος εὐνοία τοῦ ἀδελφοῦ πρὸς ἀπαντα τᾶλλα καὶ γέγονε καὶ ἔστιν, οὐδεὶς ἀγνοεῖ τῶν διπλωσούν ἐντετυχηκότων ἡμῶν, ἥκιστα δ' οἱ συνήθεις ὑμεῖς. Volkmann *I. c.* seeks to identify him with the Timon mentioned in a letter of Pliny the younger (*ep. i 5, 5*) as the husband of Arrionilla.

¹⁶ *vit. Them.* c. 82, 4.

¹⁷ περὶ τοῦ ΕΙ ἐν Δελφοῖς c. 1: ἀ πάλαι ποτε, καθ' ὅν καιρὸν ἀπεδήμει Νέρων, ἡκουσαμεν 'Αμμωνίου καὶ τινῶν ὄλλων διεξόντων.

¹⁸ e.g. Corsini *proleg. ad libr. de plac. phil.* p. vi, who finds

Athenian philosopher known as ὁ Λαμπτρεὺς or Λαμπτεύς. His name occurs repeatedly in the minor works, and is specially mentioned in the *Life of Themistokles*¹⁸. Plutarch married, we don't know at what period of his life, Timoxena, daughter of Alexion, by whom he had four sons and one daughter, born, it would appear, long after her brothers. Their eldest son, Soklarus, died before attaining his fifteenth year. Two other sons were named respectively Autobulus and Plutarchus: to them their father dedicated his treatise *περὶ τῆς ἐν Τιμαιῷ ψυχογονίᾳ* ‘concerning the procreation of the soul as discoursed in the *Timaeus* of Plato.’ The fourth son, named Chaeron after the founder of his native town, died probably at an early age¹⁹. Their only daughter, named Timoxena after her mother, died when she was but two years old, during her father's temporary absence. It was on occasion of her death that the affectionate and sensible letter of consolation (*παραμνθητικὸς πρὸς τὴν ιδίαν γυναῖκα*) was addressed by Plutarch to his wife, ‘showing him’ as has been said ‘in a very tender and attractive light as a husband and father, and affording us glimpses of a family life, the existence of which we are too apt to

a supporter in Westermann (Pauly's *Real-Encyclop.* 2. A. I., L. p. 863).

¹⁸ *de consol. ad uxorem* c. 5: ηδη δὲ καὶ περὶ τὰ τουάτα πολλὴ εἰστάθεια ἐπεδείξω, τὸ πρεσβύτατον τῶν τέκνων ἀποβαλοῦσα καὶ πάλιν ἔκεινον τοῦ καλοῦ Χαλρωνος ἡμᾶς προλιπόντος. The Autobulus and Soklarus who appear as interlocutors in the treatise *de solertia animalium* are not Plutarch's sons, as is seen from c. 7, 3, nor again the Autobulus, who appears in the *Eroticus*.

forget when taking account of the moral condition of the ancient heathen world²⁰.' On the completion of his studies under Ammonius, Plutarch returned from Athens to his home at Chaeronea, where he continued his literary pursuits. It must have been not long after this that he went on a voyage to Alexandria²¹, on his return from which he was feted by his friends. He does not appear to have extended his travels further inland or to have taken the trouble to acquire information about Egypt and its natural curiosities.

3. In later years, in the maturity of his manhood, at any rate some time before A. D. 90, he paid a visit to Italy and Rome, which exercised considerable influence on his after life. He makes a general reference to this visit in his *Life of Demosthenes*²², where he says of himself ήμεις δὲ μικρὰν οἰκοῦντες πόλιν καὶ, ἵνα μὴ μικροτέρα γένηται, φιλοχωροῦντες, ἐν δὲ 'Ρώμῃ καὶ ταῖς περὶ τὴν 'Ιταλίαν διατριβᾶσι οὐ σχολῆς οὕστης γυμνάζεσθαι περὶ τὴν 'Ρωμαϊκὴν διάλεκτον ὑπὸ χρειῶν πολιτικῶν καὶ τῶν διὰ φιλοσοφίαν πληγαιζόντων, ὡψὲ ποτε καὶ πόρρω τῆς ἡλικίας ἥρξάμεθα 'Ρωμαϊκοῖς γράμμασιν ἀντυγχάνειν. He then goes on to explain that it was not so much from the language that he came to understand the facts, as by his acquaintance with the facts he was enabled to follow the meaning of words. The beauty and rapid flow of the Roman style, its figures and its

²⁰ Archbp Trench *I. c.* p. 32, who compares two striking passages, *amator.* c. 24 and *praec. coniug.* c. 34. Cf. Volkmann *I. c.* p. 29.

²¹ *sypos.* v. 5, 1 ἐν ταῖς ὑποδοχαῖς ἀς ἐποιεῖτο τῶν φίλων ἔκαστος ἐστιῶν ἡμᾶς ἡκοντας δπδ τῆς Ἀλεξανδρείας.

²² c. 2.

exquisite harmony, and such other ornaments of language he professes himself unable to appreciate, because to do so would require a degree of practice and study, for which he had not sufficient leisure²³.

(This passage is for Plutarch's life, in more than one respect, instructive. In the first place we have his own confession that he was but an indifferent Latin scholar, a fact which, to say nothing of his defective method of employing his Roman authorities, is proved by the errors into which he falls, as often as he has occasion to explain Latin words and phrases²⁴. Secondly, we learn from this passage, that Plutarch was engaged in some public business at Rome, probably as representing his native town²⁵, that he

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²⁴ Thus he speaks of *πάτρωνας* for *πατρώνους* = *patronos* Rom. c. 20 p. 25 A; he uses a false construction with *sine*, *οὐτε πάτρις* (= *patris*), *οὐτε ἀνευ πατρός*, *quaest.* Rom. 103. His remark that the Latin language, which had become almost the universal language, had taken away nearly all prepositions (δὲ Ῥωμαλων λόγος, φῶν διοῦ τι πάντες ἀνθρωποι χρῶνται... προθέσεις ἀφύρηκε πλὴν διέγων ἀντασ) is very suspicious. He betrays his imperfect acquaintance with Latin also by his curious derivation of the word *fetialis* (Num. c. 12), and his confusion of the meaning of *vicus* in his life of Lucullus c. 37, where he gives it the meaning of 'village' instead of 'street' (*τὰς περιοικίδας κώμας, δι οὐτ'κους καλοῦσιν, εἰστιλασε*).

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gave lectures or held conversazioni in philosophy, and that he availed himself of the opportunity his residence in the Capitol gave him to make excursions in Italy, and that he must have stayed there some length of time.)

4. We have one limit for the date of his visit in the treatise ‘on the skill of animals’²⁶, where Plutarch in recording an instance of wonderful sagacity in a dog, which he had himself witnessed in the theatre of Marcellus at Rome, expressly mentions the presence of the old Emperor Vespasian on the occasion —παρῆν γὰρ ὁ γέρων Οὐεσπασιαῖος ἐν τῷ Μαρκέλλου θεάτρῳ. This must have been before the year A.D. 79, in which Vespasian died. Again it appears that Plutarch was at Rome, some time before the year A.D. 94. For he relates casually in his *de curiositate*²⁷, how on one occasion, when he was lecturing, Arulenus Rusticus, who was put to death A.D. 94 by the Emperor Domitian, was amongst his audience. In the midst of his lecture a soldier entered and handed to him a missive from the Emperor. There was deep silence and the lecturer paused to give Arulenus time to read the letter, but he declined to open it, until the lecture was finished and the audience dismissed. For the rest, it follows from a passage in the *Symposiacæ*²⁸ that Plutarch paid at least two visits to Rome, Σύλλας ὁ Καρχηδόνιος εἰς Ῥώμην ἀφικομένῳ μοι διὰ χρόνου τὸ ἵποδεκτικόν, ὡς Ῥωμαῖοι καλοῦσι, καταγγείλας δεῖπνον ἄλλους τε τῶν ἔταιρων παρέλαβεν οὐ πολλοὺς κ.τ.λ. At that time he was accompanied by his compatriot Philinus. Now

²⁶ c. 19.

²⁷ c. 15.

²⁸ viii 7, 1.

we know from the life of Publicola²⁹, that Plutarch was again in Greece and at Athens before A.D. 82, the year when the Capitol was restored by Domitian, for he saw there the columns of Pentelic marble destined for that building. He goes on to state that at Rome they were again cut and polished, and had lost thereby some of their original symmetry, being too slender, and ends with a description of the imperial palace; from which it follows that Plutarch must have been at Rome after A.D. 82. We find also many other notices of his presence at Rome scattered throughout his writings, as when he refers to various bad customs existing in his time³⁰, or speaks of buildings and localities, which he has seen, such as the sacred island of the Tiber³¹, the temple of Vica Pota³², the bronze statue of Titus Quintus Flamininus, opposite the Circus, with the Greek inscription on it³³, or the τεράτων ἄγορα ‘monster-market’³⁴. In the Life of Numa he states that he had himself heard many Romans narrate how in obedience to an oracle bidding the Romans set up a statue of the wisest and the bravest of the Greeks in their own city, they had erected in the forum two bronze statues, one of Alkibiades, the other of Pythagoras³⁵.

²⁹ c. 15 οἱ δὲ κλονεῖ ἐκ τοῦ Πεντέλησιν ἐτμήθησαν λίθους καλλιστα τῷ πάχει πρὸς τὸ μῆκος ἔχοντες εἰδομεν γὰρ αὐτοὺς Ἀθήνησιν. ἐν δὲ Ῥώμῃ πληγέντες αὐτοὶ καὶ ἀνάξυσθέντες οὐ τοσούτον ἔργον γλαφυρίας, θσον ἀπώλεσαν συμμετρίας τοῦ καλοῦ διάκενοι καὶ λαγαροὶ φανέντες.

³⁰ v. Marc. c. 8 extr.

³¹ v. Public. c. 8.

³² ib. c. 10.

³³ vit. Flam. c. 1.

³⁴ de curios. c. 10.

³⁵ c. 8 αὐτοὶ ἀκηδάμενοι πολλῶν ἐν Ῥώμῃ διεξιόντων, δτι χρησμοῦ

5. At Rome Plutarch made the acquaintance of many eminent men, and also renewed his acquaintance with several whom he had known before in Greece, as with Sextius Sulla of Carthage, οὗτε Μουσῶν οὗτε Χαρίων ἐπιδέης ἀνήρ³⁶. Thus he was on terms of intimacy with Favorinus, the renowned rhetorician and philosopher, to whom he dedicated his extant treatise 'on the principle of cold' (*περὶ τοῦ πρώτου ψυχροῦ*) and a lost tract 'on friendship,' and with Gaius Sosius Senecio, one of Pliny's correspondents³⁷, to whom Plutarch dedicates several of his Parallel Lives³⁸, and at whose suggestion he compiled his *Symposiaca* or 'records of Table-talk,' held at entertainments in which he played the part of host or guest to a circle of scholars or gentlemen devoted to literature and philosophy at Rome and elsewhere³⁹. Now we know from the Fasti that Sosius was four times consul under Trajan, viz., consul *suffectus* in A.D. 98 and consul *ordinarius* in A.D. 99, 102, 107. We do not, however, know whether Plu-

ποτε 'Ρωμαίου γενομένου τὸν φρονιμώτατον καὶ τὸν ἀνδρεότατον 'Ελλήνων δύρσασθαι παρ' αὐτοῖς, ἐστησαν ἐπὶ τῆς ἀγορᾶς εἰκόνας χαλκᾶς δύο, τὴν μὲν Ἀλκιβιάδου, τὴν δὲ Πυθαγόρου.

³⁶ v. Rom. c. 15.

³⁷ Plin. ep. i 13.

³⁸ Those of *Theseus* and *Romulus*, of *Demosthenes* and *Cicerō*, of *Dio* and *Brutus*, probably also those of *Agis* and *Kleomenes*, and the two *Gracchi*, as well as the treatise *de profectibus in virtute πῶς ἀν τις αἰσθοιτο ἑαυτοῦ προκόπτοντος ἐπ' ἀρετῆ*.

³⁹ φήθη τε δεῦν ἡμᾶς τῶν σποράδην πολλάκις ἐν τε 'Ρώμῃ μεθ' ὑμῶν καὶ παρ' ἡμῖν ἐν τῇ Ἑλλάδι παρούσης ἔμα τραπέζης καὶ κύλι-
[REDACTED] φιλολογηθέντων συναγαγεῖν τὰ ἐπιτήδεια, Prooem. 4.

tarch made his acquaintance first at Rome or in Greece, where it is certain from references in the *Symposiaca* that he stayed some considerable time⁴⁰. We learn from the same source that this distinguished Roman extended his friendship with the father to the sons⁴¹.

Another friend of Plutarch's, also a man of consular rank, a scholar and archaeologist⁴², was Mestrius Florus. It was at his house that the discussion took place about 'the evil eye,' in which Plutarch took part with his kinsman Patrokleus and his friend Soklarus⁴³. In his company he travelled through Gallia Cisalpina, where Mestrius' family was well known; and visited the battle-field of Bedriacum⁴⁴, Brixellum⁴⁵, Ravenna, where he saw the marble statue

⁴⁰ From ii 1, 1 it is plain that Plutarch was once at Patrae with him; and in v 1, 1 Plutarch speaks of their being in each other's company at Athens. Again in iv 8, 1 he tells us that Sosius was present at the marriage-feast of his son Autobulus (*ἐν τοῖς Αὐτοβούλου τοῦ νεού γάμου συνεώρταζεν ἡμῖν παρὼν ἐκ Χαιρωνειᾶς* (*ἐν Χαιρωνειᾳ Volkmann*) ὁ Σόσιος Σενεκίων).

⁴¹ *symp.* viii 10, 1 *τοῖς μὲν οὖν σοῖς ἄταροις ἔμοις δὲ νιοῖς ἔδόκει.*

⁴² φιλαρχαῖος *symp.* vii 4: cf. *ib.* viii 2, 2, *Sueton.* *Vespas.* c. 22.

⁴³ *symp.* v. 7.

⁴⁴ v. *Oth.* c. 14: *ἔμοι δὲ ὕστερον ὀδεύοντι διὰ τοῦ πεδίου Μέστριος Φλώρος, ἀνήρ ὑπατικὸς τῶν τότε μὴ κατὰ γνώμην ἀλλ' ἀδύκη μετὰ τοῦ "Οθωνος γενομένων, νεών διτα παλαιὸν ἐπιδεῖξας διηγεῖτο μετὰ τὴν μάχην ἐπελθὼν ἰδεῖν νεκρῶν σώρου τηλικούτον ὥστε τοὺς ἐπικολῆς ἀπτεσθαι τῶν ἀετῶν.*

⁴⁵ *ib.* c. 18: *εἰδον δὲ καὶ ἐν Βρεττλλῳ γενόμενος καὶ μηδια μέτριον καὶ τὴν ἐπιγραφὴν οὕτως ἔχουσαν, εἰ μεταχρασθεῖη, 'Δηλώσει Μάρκου "Οθωνος.'*

of Gaius Marius⁴⁶. Amongst his other friends we may mention in particular Fundanus, who is the principal interlocutor in the dialogue about *ἀρρυγησία*, 'the cure of anger,' a very noble and humane character, and the counterpart of Plutarch himself in his domestic life⁴⁷. He is probably to be identified with Minucius Fundanus, a distinguished friend of Pliny the younger⁴⁸. A common friend of Sulla, Fundanus and Plutarch was Paccius, to whom the treatise *περὶ εὐθυμίας* 'of tranquillity of mind' is dedicated, a distinguished forensic speaker and a friend of the emperor⁴⁹.

6. Plutarch's occupation during his residence at Rome was akin to that of one whom the ancients termed *grammaticus*, but whom we should describe as lecturer or private tutor⁵⁰, ready to give advice to any one consulting him on questions of practical morality, as a sort of physioian of the soul, able to make a diagnosis of a diseased moral condition, one of 'the domestic chaplains of heathendom,' as Bishop Lightfoot calls them, ready to help all who sought his assistance

⁴⁶ Mar. c. 2: τῆς δὲ ὄψεως τῆς Μαρίου λιθίνην εικόνα κειμένην ἐν 'Ραβέννῃ τῆς Γαλατίας ἐθεώμεθα πάνυ τῷ λεγομένῃ περὶ τὸ ἥθος στρυφνότητι καὶ πικρίᾳ πρέπουσαν.

⁴⁷ Volkmann l. c. p. 41.

⁴⁸ See his three Epistles i 9, iv 15, vi 6. There is also a fourth letter (v 6) concerning the death of his young daughter in which Pliny speaks of his being *eruditus et sapiens*, *ut qui se ab ineunte aetate altioribus studiis artibusque dederit.*

⁴⁹ de tranquill. animi c. 1.

⁵⁰ v. Dem. c. 2, already quoted § 8, where he speaks of his being prevented from learning much of the Latin language νῦν τῶν διὰ φιλοσοφίαν πλησιαζόντων.

as their moral director and adviser. He had cultivated, in a greater or less degree, the three branches of study recognized by the ancients, viz. mathematics, rhetoric and philosophy⁵¹. But his attention was mainly given to moral and religious speculations, in all of which he took the most profound interest; the one end and aim of his life and writings being the illumination of the intellect by the force of morals.

Thus Poetry, in his judgment, was mischievous, if it had not a direct moral tendency; his rhetorical precepts and his rules of historical criticism are alike based upon morals; does he find himself in presence of some physical phenomenon⁵², or confronted by a question of erudition, the solution is to be found only by recurring to moral principles. Even his rules for the preservation of health are for the most part observations of moral hygiene. If he attacks the Stoicks and Epicureans, it is to vindicate Providence and the moral government of the world against their tenets. Politics, moreover, are in his view nothing but the most perfect exercise of moral philosophy applied to the amelioration of society⁵³.

We see then why, from the first, his miscellaneous essays on all sorts of topics were comprised under the common title of 'Moral Works.' His *Parallel Lives* are but the complement of his moral essays; his

⁵¹ sympos. ix 14 § 8 διάστας τὰς διὰ λόγου περαιωμένας ἐπιστήμας καὶ τέχνας οἱ παλαιοὶ καταμαθόντες ἐν τρισὶ γένεσιν οὐσίας τῷ φιλοσόφῳ καὶ τῷ φηγορικῷ καὶ τῷ μαθηματικῷ κ.τ.λ.

⁵² v. Nic. c. 23.

⁵³ περὶ τοῦ ὅτι μάλιστα τοῖς ἡγεμόνις δεῖ τὸν φιλόσοφον διαλέγεσθαι c. 1; πρὸς ἡγεμόνα διτείθεντον c. 3.

leading purpose in writing them was not, as will be seen hereafter, historical but ethical: history is only a school of manners for him; what he looks for in the example of great men is some lesson or other⁵⁴. 'Vivid moral portraiture,' says Archbishop Trench, 'is what he aimed at, and this is what he achieved⁵⁵.

7. And this is the secret of his vast popularity, which has stood the test of so many ages from the fourth century, when he could be spoken of as ὁ θεώτατος, ὁ θεοπέσιος, η φιλοσοφίας αἰτάσης ἀφροδίτη καὶ λύρα⁵⁶, or as ὁ τῆς ἐπιστήμης πλοῦτος⁵⁷ until the period of the renaissance. Since the revival of classical literature his admirers have been very numerous. Rabelais, Montaigne^{57b} who was a great imitator of Plutarch and confesses that he can hardly do without him, Shakespeare, Scaliger⁵⁸, in the sixteenth century pay him

⁵⁴ Heeren *de fontibus et auctoritate ritarum parallelarum Plutarchi Commentatio prima*, proœm. p. 5 etc., Trench *l. c.* p. 90.

⁵⁵ *l. c. p. 43.*

⁵⁶ Eunapius *de vitis sophistarum*, proœm. p. 3 ed. Boissonade.

⁵⁷ Theophylact Sim. Q. P. p. 22.

^{57b} Essais II c. 4, quoted by Koraës praefat. Plutarch. Tom. I p. 78: Je donne avecques raison, ce me semble, la palme à Iacques Amyot sur touts nos escrivains françois... mais sur tout je luy sçais bon gré d'avoir sceu trier et choisir un livre sidigne et si à propos, pour en faire présent à son païs. Nous aultres ignorants estions perdus, si ce livre ne nous eust relevé du bourbier: sa mercy, nous osons à cett'heure et parler et escrire; les dames en regentent les maistres d'eschole; c'est nostre breviaire.

⁵⁸ *Plutarchus totius sapientiae ocellus* Scaligerana Colon.

¹⁶⁰⁵ p. 317.

signal homage; he is, to use Gréard's words, 'le breviaire du siècle, sa lumière, sa conscience'. 'His writings have proved a rich storehouse from which Christian writers in all ages have largely and freely drawn.' Basil, the great bishop of Cappadocia, derived many a hint from the heathen moralist. Bishop Jeremy Taylor is constantly referring or alluding to his writings; Neander owned his great obligation to the treatise on 'the delays in the divine justice' at a critical period of his life. In the eighteenth century we find Montesquieu⁶⁰ borrowing his definition of law from him; Rollin gives almost a literal translation of his *Lives* in his historical descriptions. Rousseau⁶¹ reckons him among the few authors that he read in his old age, 'à cause du profit qu'il y trouve.' 'He is perhaps,' says La Harpe, 'l'esprit le plus naturellement moral, qui ait existé'. 'He is' according to Joubert 'the Herodotus of philosophy in his *Moral works*:' and the same writer regards his *Parallel Lives* 'comme un des plus précieux monuments que l'antiquité nous ait légués. La sagesse antique est là tout entière.' Similarly Koraës pref. p. 73: ἀμφιβάλλω ἀνεύρισκεται κανέν αλλο σύγγραμμα παρὰ τοῦ Πλουτάρχου τὰ συγγράμματα πλουσιώτερον ἀπὸ βιωφελῆ παραδείγματα καὶ παραγγέλματα. 'He stands before us,' says a writer in the *Journal of Education*, Vol. II p. 114,

⁶⁰ I. c. Introd. p. xx. Cf. Montaigne *Essais* II c. 4.

⁶⁰ *esprit des lois* I 1.

⁶¹ *les réveries du promeneur solitaire, 4^{me} Promenade*, apud Koraës praef. Plutarch. Tom. I p. 79.

⁶² *Lycée*, livre III ch. 11 sect. 2.

'as the legate, the ambassador and the orator on behalf of those institutions, whereby the old-time men were rendered wise and virtuous.'

8. We can readily imagine what a profound impression must have been made upon Plutarch by the great City, which was the heart and centre of the world's activity, with its glorious name and associations⁶³, its beautiful and magnificent sights, representing all the grandeur and splendour of the Earth, so that it might well be named *οἰκουμένης ἐπιτομή*, not so much from isolated expressions⁶⁴ as from his whole method of speaking of the Roman power, and the deep interest which he manifested in Roman history at a later period of his life. He regarded the Roman empire as a special creation of Providence⁶⁵ for helping men to lasting peace and undisturbed possession of their property after a long and dreary period of warfare.

9. From the noise and bustle of the Capital of the World—a fitter residence for him because of the opportunities it afforded of intercourse with great men and the ampler supply of books—he returned to the modest and quiet place of his birth, where he spent the remaining years of his tranquil life, 'being

⁶³ Rom. c. 1: *τὸ μέγα τῆς Ρώμης δυομά καὶ δέξῃ διὰ πάντων κεχωρηκός.*

⁶⁴ such as *ἡ καλὴ Ρώμη*, as he calls it in the *de solertia animali*. c. 5.

⁶⁵ vit. Romuli c. 8: *οὐκ ἀν ἐνταῦθα προσβη δυνάμεως (Ρώμη), μηδὲ θελαν τινα ἀρχὴν λαβέντα καὶ μηδὲν μέγα μηδὲ παράδοξον ἔχονταν.* Cf. Pomp. c. 75, Philopoem. c. 17, *de fortuna Romanorum* II p. 316 c—326 a.

loth' as he says 'to make the small town yet smaller by the absence of even one inhabitant'⁶⁶. He made a point of undertaking its humblest offices at first⁶⁷—entertaining as he did the strong conviction that the exercise of public functions was the duty and the proper education of Man. Subsequently he became its ἀρχων ἐπώνυμος for more than one year⁶⁸. He was also chosen by his fellow-townsmen to the office of Boeotarch⁶⁹. He likewise officiated as priest of Apollo at Delphi⁷⁰—a high testimony to the worth of his character; and at a later period as ἀγωνοθέτης at the Pythian games⁷¹. But his public duties did not hinder him from making frequent excursions from Chaeronea; for it is clear from allusions in his *Lives* that he was familiar with all the principal localities, not to say the nooks and corners of Greece; he delights to relate his personal reminiscences and all he has seen of the memorials and records of her past splendour⁷².

10. As to the legend that he was raised to the dignity of Consul by the emperor Trajan, and appointed

⁶⁶ vit. Dem. c. 2: ήμεῖς μικρὰν οἰκοῦντες πόλις καὶ, ἵνα μὴ μικροτέρα γένηται, φιλοχωρῶντες.

⁶⁷ praec. ger. reip. 15, 17.

⁶⁸ sympos. II. 10, 1; VI 8, 1.

⁶⁹ an seni ger. sit resp. c. 4; praec. ger. reip. c. 17.

⁷⁰ sympos. VII 2, 2 where he speaks of Euthydemus as his colleague in the priesthood (*συνιερεύς*).

⁷¹ ib. v 2, 3.

⁷² See especially vit. Phok. c. 18, c. 22, Demosth. c. 7, c. 31, Nikias c. 3, Perikl. c. 13, Agesil. c. 19, c. 35, Lykurg. c. 18, Aristeid. c. 1, c. 17, c. 19—21, c. 27, Themist. c. 22, Sol. c. 25, Alexandr. c. 69, Kim. c. 16.

Governor of Greece—it may be dismissed as not supported by sufficient evidence and on the face of it entirely incredible. It rests on the assertion of two compilers in the middle ages, about seven or eight centuries after the death of Plutarch, viz. the Byzantine historian Georgius Syncellus⁷³ and Suidas⁷⁴. The story was added to two centuries later by John of Salisbury⁷⁵, the secretary and friend of Thomas à Becket, who averred that Plutarch was the preceptor to Trajan, and published a Latin letter from him to the emperor, which was evidently a forgery. Elsewhere he gives the substance of the treatise alluded to in the letter, and inscribed *Institutio Traiani*. Vincent de Beauvais⁷⁶ reproduced the text of this letter, first published by John of Salisbury, and Petrarch⁷⁷ the

⁷³ Πλούταρχος Χαιρωνεὺς φιλόσοφος ἐπιτροπεύειν· Ελλάδος ἵπδ τοῦ αὐτοκράτορος κατεστάθη γηραιός. Georgius the syncellus (i.e. the personal attendant of Tarasius patriarch of Constantinople A.D. 806) in his ἐκλογὴ χρονογραφίας ἀπὸ Ἀδάμ μέχρι Διοκλητιανοῦ ed. W. Dindorf, Bonn 1829.

⁷⁴ Πλούταρχος Χαιρωνεύς, τῆς Βοιωτίας, γεγονὼς ἐπὶ τῶν τοῦ Τραιανοῦ τοῦ Καλσαρος χρόνων καὶ ἔτι πρόσδεν· μεταδούς δὲ αὐτῷ Τραιανὸς τῆς τῶν ὑπάτων ἀξίας προσέταξε μηδένα τῶν κατὰ τὴν Ἰλλυρίδα ἀρχόντων παρέξ τῆς αὐτοῦ γνώμης τι διαπράττεσθαι. Suidas s. v. p. 3014 ed. Gaisford.

⁷⁵ Poliorcatus *de curialium nugis lib. v, prologus: extat epistula Plutarchi Traianum instituentis, quae cuiusdam politicae constitutionis exprimit sensum. Ea dicitur esse huiusmodi etc.*

⁷⁶ *speculum maius vel historiale nuncupatum, lib. x c. 47 de Plutarcho Traiani praeceptore. Cf. c. 48 de libro Plutarchi missio ad Traianum.*

⁷⁷ ep. iii, ad Senecam p. 706: *Plutarchus siquidem Graecus homo et Traiani principis magister—non erubuit confiteri*

fact established by the text; and the romance was subsequently repeated by all editors and translators of the period of the renaissance, Xylander⁷⁸ (professor in the University of Heidelberg), Amyot⁷⁹ (tutor to the sons of K. Henry II, Bishop of Auxerre and grand Almoner of France), S. Goulard⁸⁰, F. Morel, Decius Celer⁸¹, Rualdus⁸²; and either tacitly or explicitly accepted by scholars and learned men of the 17th century, as S. Petit⁸³, G. J. Voss⁸⁴ and others.

There is indeed a letter among Plutarch's works in which he dedicated his 'sayings of kings and commanders' (*ἀποφθέγματα βασιλέων καὶ στρατηγῶν*) to Trajan, but it is very different in tone from the preceptorial letter to his supposed pupil, first published in Latin by John of Salisbury.

11. In the retirement of a happy domestic life Plutarch enjoyed abundant leisure for the pursuit of his favourite literary and moral studies. But, unlike

quod quem tibi ex aequo in moralibus praeceptis obiceret non haberet.

⁷⁸ vita Plutarchi prefixed to his transl. of the *Lives*, a. 1560, and also to the Greek ed. Basileae a. 1574.

⁷⁹ Amyot *epistre aux lecteurs* a. 1559.

⁸⁰ Introduction to his edition of Amyot's translation a. 1583.

⁸¹ *de Plutarchi Chaeron. philosophi gravissimi vita libellus.*

⁸² vita Plutarchi p. 1—p. 66 in the impression of the Frankfurt a.D. 1599 ed. at Paris a.D. 1624, which contains a portrait of Plutarch, pronounced by D. Wytenbach to be 'infestum negotium et ploranti monacho simillimum,' and a fulsome dedication to Louis XIII, with a frightful portrait of that monarch on horseback.

⁸³ *observ.* ii 10 p. 230.

⁸⁴ *de historicis Graecis* ii 10.

12. As to the chronological order of his works we are left very much in the dark. Most of them must have been written in his riper years after the reign of Domitian. There is none which we can refer to an earlier period, except perhaps the treatise on superstition, in which speaking of the Jews he says (c. 8) : ἀλλὰ Ἰουδαῖοι σαββάτων ὄντων ἐν ἀγνάπτοις καθεζόμενοι, τῶν πολεμίων κλίμακας προστιθέντων καὶ τὰ τείχη καταλαμβανόντων, οὐκ ἀνέστησαν ἀλλ' ἔμειναν ὕσπειρ ἐν σαγγίῃ μᾶς τῇ δεισιδαιμονίᾳ συνδεδεμένοι : this may have been written soon after the destruction of Jerusalem. His treatise *de se ipsum citra invidiam laudando* cannot have been composed in the latest year of his life, because he expressly excludes himself in it

αἱ τῶν συνδυτῶν ἐξ ἀνάγκης δηλοῖαι προσβάλλουσιν, ἐκκρούειν καὶ διωθεῖσθαι πρὸς τὰ κάλλιστα τῶν παραδειγμάτων ἔλεω καὶ πρεσίαν ἀποστρέφοντες τὴν δύναμαν, i.e. "It was for the sake of others that I first undertook to write biographies, but I at once began to dwell upon and delight in them for my own sake, while I endeavoured to the best of my ability to regulate my own life and to make it resemble their virtues, which were reflected in their history as in a mirror. For it seems just as if we lived in personal intercourse with them, when we welcome each character in turn as a guest by the study of their lives, and think 'how great, how noble he was,' as we appropriate from their acts the best and most important as a means of judging of them. 'Ah! what greater joy than this could'st thou receive?' what more efficacious for the elevation of character? By our familiarity with history and practice in writing it, we train ourselves constantly to receive into our minds the memorials of the best and most approved characters, so that, if anything low or vicious or degrading is thrown in our way by the society into which we are necessarily thrown, we regret and expel it from our thoughts, by turning them away, calmly and gently, to the most beautiful models."

(c. 20) from the number of old men. In one of his Treatises he speaks of the Emperor Trajan wintering in Dacia, after building his famous bridge over the Danube⁹⁰, i.e. in A.D. 105—106.

For the date of his Biographies, there is an important passage in that of *Sulla* c. 21, where, after describing the battle of Orchomenus, fought in B.C. 85, he says that many relics of the dead were found in the neighbouring marshes—σχεδὸν ἐτῶν διακοσίων ἀπὸ τῆς μάχης ἔκεινης διαγεγονότων. From which it follows that Plutarch must have composed the *Life of Sulla* at least not much before A.D. 115, consequently at the close of Trajan's reign.

13. We know of no other events in the life of Plutarch, except a trivial anecdote recorded of him by Aulus Gellius *Noct. Att.* i 2, 6. As the treatise *de audiendo* afforded us a glimpse of his lecture-room, so his *praecepta de sanitate*, or 'rules for the preservation of health,' give us an insight into his own mode of life, which, as we should have expected without any such allusion, was, in contrast to the prevailing extravagance and luxury of the age, simple and temperate, orderly without any parade of strictness, and ever attended with a vein of charity and good humour. He does not appear to have lived much beyond the year A.D. 120. For he speaks in his *Life of Solon* c. 32 of the Olympieion at Athens as unfinished, and we know that Hadrian completed it at some time

⁹⁰ *de primo frigido* 12, 5, where he says συντρίβει τὰ πλοῖα τὸ ὕδωρ ἀποθαξόμενον εἰς ἄντρα καὶ συνθλιβόμενον, ὡς Ιστοροῦσιν οἱ νῦν μετὰ τοῦ Καλσαρος ἐπὶ τοῦ "Ιστρου διαχειμάσαντες.

between A.D. 125 and A.D. 130⁹¹. There is a passage in Artemidorus Daldianus which refers to his death⁹².

It is not known what became of his sons. His nephew Sextus however, son of his brother Timon or Lamprias, lived to be a distinguished Stoic philosopher and became one of the teachers of the emperor Marcus Aurelius Antoninus, whose portrait of him would suit admirably for that of Plutarch himself. He says: "From Sextus I learned benevolence of disposition and the example of a household governed in a paternal manner, and the idea of living conformably to nature, and gravity without affectation, and the care which divines the wants of friends, and to bear with ignorant persons and those who form opinions without consideration: the faculty of readily accommodating himself to all, so that simple intercourse with him was more agreeable than any flattery, and those who enjoyed it never had more veneration for him than at that time; the ability to seize and discover and order in an intelligent and methodical way the principles necessary for practical life: never to show anger or any other excessive passion, the talent of being at once the most impassive and the most affectionate of men, to express his good will significantly enough without noise and transport; and the being learned without ostentation"⁹³."

⁹¹ Dyer's *Ancient Athens* p. 173.

⁹² *Oneirocritica* iv 72.

⁹³ *de rebus suis* i 9: παρὰ Σέξτου (εἰχον) τὸ εὐμενὲς καὶ τὸ παράδειγμα τοῦ οἴκου τοῦ πατροφομουμένου καὶ τὴν ἔννοιαν τοῦ κατὰ φύσιν ἥηρ καὶ τὸ σίμυδε ἀπλόστως καὶ τὸ στοχαστικὸν τῶν φίλων φιλονικῶς καὶ τὸ ἀνεκτικὸν τῶν ἴδιωτῶν καὶ τοῦ ἀθεωρήτου τῶν

14. There is sufficient evidence that Plutarch's works were much read and used soon after his death. Aelius Aristeides^u, the celebrated rhetorician of the second century, and Polyaenus, author of the *στρατηγίματα*, borrowed largely from him. He is quoted by A. Gellius and Galen^v and referred to by Tatian the apologist in his *λόγος πρὸς Ἑλλύρας*. In the third century we find Athenaeus constantly quoting or making tacit reference to him, also Porphyrius the neo-Platonist, and Eunapius^w. Johannes Stobaeus in his collection made extracts of all kinds from his works, including some that are lost. Macrobius in his *Saturnalia* has made constant use of his 'Table talk.' In the sixth century he was carefully read by Sopater the younger of Apamea, the eighth and twelfth books of whose *ἐκλογαὶ διάφοροι* contained extracts from his writings, among others from his lost lives of Krates, Daiphantus, Pindar, Epameinondas: also from his philosophical treatise *περὶ φύσεως καὶ πόνων*, and from another *περὶ ὄργῆς*, a fragment of which is found in the *Florilegium* of Stobaeus. It is remarkable

εἰδεμένων καὶ τὸ πρὸς πάρτας εὑδρομοστον, ὅπετε κολακελας μὲν ἀπάσης τροστρεστέρας εἴναι τὴν δημιλαν αὐτοῦ, αἰθεσιμώτατον δὲ αὐτοῖς ἐκείνοις τὸν αὐτὸν ἐκείνοις τὸν καιρὸν εἴναι, καὶ τὸ καταληπτικῶν καὶ ὁδῷ ἔξευρετικόν τε καὶ τακτικὸν τῶν εἰς βίον διαγκαίων δογμάτων, καὶ τὸ μηδὲ ἔμφασις ποτε δργῆς η̄ ἀλλον τυρος τέθους παρασχεῖν, ἀλλὰ ἀμα μὲν διεθέστατον εἴναι ἀμα δὲ φιλοστοργήτατον καὶ τὸ εὐφημον καὶ τοῦτο ἀφορητόν καὶ τὸ πολυμαθές ἀνεπιφάντων.

^u v. Sintenis ad Plut. Peric. excusa. 3 p. 302 ff. ed. Lips. a. 1835.

^v de dogmate Platonis et Hippocratis.

^w See above note 56.

that Sopater made extracts from his spurious works also, such as that 'on rivers' and 'the apophthegms of Kings and Generals.' Ecclesiastical writers, as Clement of Alexandria and even Basil the Great, as has been before⁹⁷ noticed, were not ashamed to adorn themselves with his feathers, an easy proceeding which proved too tempting for compilers like Zonaras, and Michael Psellus not to imitate.

b. *The Parallel Lives of Plutarch*

15. The collection known as Plutarch's Lives, which constitutes the second half of Plutarch's writings, is not what its author left behind him either in form or arrangement⁹⁸. To the proper work 'Parallel Lives' narrated in a series of books, each containing the accounts of one Greek and one Roman followed by a brief comparison (*σύγκρισις*) of their merits, some single Lives have been added. Those of Otho and Galba belonged probably to a series of Lives of Roman Emperors from Augustus to Vitellius. Artoxerxes and Aratus are detached narratives, like others, no longer extant, such as Herakles, Aristomenes, Hesiod, Pindar, Daiphantus, Krates the cynic philosopher, and Aratus the poet. In the Parallel Lives themselves there are gaps. There was one Book containing those of Epameinondas and Scipio. Several of the com-

⁹⁷ See above p. xxiii.

⁹⁸ A. H. Clough, *Life of Plutarch*, prefixed to his edition of Dryden's Translation, p. v.

parisons (*συγκρίσεις*) are wanting, having been either lost or left incomplete. Occasional references in the extant lives show that their original order was different from the present. For example, in the life of Theseus, which stands first, mention occurs of the lives of Lykurgus and Numa as already written.

The forty-six parallel Lives which have come down to us are as follows, each pair constituting one book (*βιβλίον*):

1. Theseus and Romulus.
2. Lykurgus and Numa.
3. Solon and Valerius Publicola.
4. Themistokles and Camillus.
5. Perikles and Q. Fabius Maximus
6. Alkibiades and Coriolanus.
7. Timoleon and Aemilius Paulus.
8. Pelopidas and Marcellus.
9. Aristeides and Cato maior.
10. Philopoemen and Titus Quintius Flaminius.
11. Pyrrhus and Marius.
12. Lysander and Sulla.
13. Kimon and Lucullus.
14. Nikias and Crassus.
15. Eumenes and Sertorius.
16. Agesilaus and Pompeius.
17. Alexander and Julius Caesar.
18. Phokion and Cato the younger.
19. Agis and Kleomenes.
20. Tiberius and Gaius Gracchus.
21. Demosthenes and Cicero.
22. Demetrius Poliorketes and Marcus Antonius.
23. Dion and M. Junius Brutus.

16. In order to form a proper estimate of the merits of Plutarch as a Biographer we must see what was the object he had in view. He himself announces in several places the rules by which he was guided as to what he should admit in his narrative as well as what he should omit. Thus in his Introduction to the *Life of Alexander the Great*, where he makes an apology for the brevity with which he is compelled to treat of the numerous events in the life of that hero and of Caesar, 'I am not a writer' he says 'of histories but of biographies. My readers therefore must excuse me if I do not record all events or describe in detail, but only briefly touch upon, the noblest and most famous. For the most conspicuous do not always or of necessity show a man's virtues or failings, but it often happens that some light occasion, a word or a jest, gives a clearer insight into character, than battles with their slaughters of tens of thousands and the greatest arrays of armies and sieges of cities. Accordingly as painters produce a likeness by a representation of the countenance and the expression of the face, in which the character is revealed, without troubling themselves about the other parts of the body, so I must be allowed to look rather into the signs of a man's character, and by means of these to portray the life of each, leaving to others the description of great events and battles⁹⁹.'

⁹⁹ οὐδὲν ἄλλο προερῦμεν ἡ παραιησθεῖα τοὺς ἀναγιγνώσκοντας, ἐὰν μὴ πάντα μηδὲ καθ' ἔκαστον ἔξεργασμένων τι τῶν περιβοήτων ἀπαγγέλλωμεν ἄλλα ἐπιτέμουντες τὰ πλεῖστα, μὴ συκοφαντεῖν. οὐτε γάρ λογοπλας γράφομεν ἄλλα βίους οὐτε ταῖς ἐπιφανεστάταις πράξεσι πάντως ἔνεστι δῆλωσις δρετῆς ἡ κακας, ἄλλα πρᾶγμα βραχὺ πολλάκις· καὶ ρῆμα καὶ παιδιά τις ἔμφασις

So again in his *Life of Nikias*¹⁰⁰, while he takes the historian Timaeos to task for venturing to emulate Thucydides in describing the events of the Sicilian campaign and laughs at his feeble and senseless attempts to imitate his great and unapproachable model, he professes his own immunity from such an error, he will be found to pass over lightly all the events which Thucydides and Philistus have recorded, and in the rest to endeavour to collect materials for his biography from various sources, from the scattered remarks of other writers not commonly known, from ancient records and monuments not accessible to all, and whatever else would serve to decipher the nature and the character of his hero¹⁰¹. The interest of historians such as Herodotus and Thucydides is for the achievements and fates of political communities,

ἥθους ἐποίησε μᾶλλον ή μάχαι μυριόνεκραι καὶ παρατάξεις αἱ μέγισται καὶ πολιορκίαι πόλεων. ὥστερον οὖν οἱ γεωγράφοι τὰς διαιρήσας ἀπὸ τοῦ προσώπου καὶ τῶν περὶ τὴν δύψιν εἰδῶν, οἵς ἐμφαίνεται τὸ ηθός, ἀναλαμβάνουσιν ἐλάχιστοι τῶν λοιπῶν μερῶν φροντίζοντες, οὕτως ἡμῖν δοτέον εἰς τὰ τῆς ψυχῆς σημεῖα μᾶλλον ἐδύνεσθαι καὶ διὰ τούτων εἰδοποεῖν τὸν ἐκάστου βίον ἔσσαντας ἐτέρους τὰ μεγίστη καὶ τοὺς ἄγνωτους. vit. Alexandr. 1, 1.

¹⁰⁰ c. 1 η περὶ λέξιν ἀμιλλα καὶ γῆλοτυτία πρὸς ἐτέρους μικροπρέπεις φαίνεται καὶ σοφιστικόν, ἀν δὲ πρὸς τὰ ἀμίμητα γίγνεται καὶ τελέως ἀναισθῆτον.

¹⁰¹ ἂς Θουκυδίδης ἔξηρεγκε πράξεις καὶ Φίλιστος, ἐπει παρελθεῖν οὖν ἔστι, μάλιστα γε δη τὸν τρόπον καὶ τὴν διάθεσιν τοῦ ἀδρός ἕπο δολλῶν καὶ μεγάλων παθῶν καλυπτομέτην περιεχούσας ἐπιθραμμὸν βραχίονος καὶ διὰ τῶν ἀναγκαῖων, θνα μὴ παντάπασιν ἀμελήτη δοκῶ καὶ ἀργὸς εἶναι, τὰ διαφεύγοντα τοὺς πολλοὺς ὑφ' ἐτέρων δ' εἰρημένα σπορδῶν η πρὸς αναθήμασιν η ψηφίσμασιν εὐρημένα παλαιοῖς τεκεραμαι συναγαγεῖν, οὐ τὴν ἀχροποτον ἀθροίζων ἰστορίαις ἀλλὰ τὴν πρὸς κατανόησιν ήθους καὶ τρόπου παραδίδοντες. c. 1.

while they are comparatively indifferent to those of individuals. This may easily be accounted for from the circumstances of the age in which they lived, when the state was all in all and the individual entirely merged in it. But a change in this respect had set in as early as the following century, when the tendency was to connect the names of individuals with great achievements, so that, while Marathon and Salamis were always described as victories of the Athenian people and not of Miltiades and Themistokles only, Timotheus is frequently spoken of as the conqueror of Corcyra, Chabrias of Naxos, and Iphikrates of the Lacedaemonians¹⁰². But by the time of Plutarch the Greeks as a nation were politically effaced, and all interest in their country of necessity quite extinct. Greece was no longer mother of the great in arts or arms. She was 'Greece but living Greece no more.' Accordingly in Theopompos, the historian of King Philip, we find the characteristics of individuals made much more prominent and more carefully detailed : still more in Plutarch the whole becomes lost in the individual, history in biography : his interest is for personal character and individual actions and motives to action : more or less of historical background he was obliged to give to the portraits he drew,

¹⁰² Dem. adv. Aristokr. § 198 p. 686 : τῶν ἔργων τῶν τότε οὐδεὶς ὁ ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖος ἀπεστέρησαν ἐαυτὸς, οὐδὲ ἔστιν οὐδεὶς δότις ἢν εἴκοι τὴν ἐν Σαλαμῖνι ναυμαχίᾳ Θεμιστοκλέους ἀλλ' Ἀθηναῖον, οὐδὲ τὴν Μαραθῶνι μάχην Μίλτιάδου, ἀλλὰ τῆς πόλεως. νῦν δὲ πολλοὶ τούτῳ λέγουσιν, ως Κέρκυραν εἶλε Τιμόθεος καὶ τὴν μόραν κατέκοψεν Ἰφικράτης καὶ τὴν περὶ Νάξου ἑνίκα ναυμαχίαν Χαβρίας.

but always in subordination to the portrait itself: he is, in short, only accidentally an historian; he is really and essentially a philosopher and moralist: 'his mind is continually running on the ethics of Aristotle and the high Platonic theories which formed the religion of the educated population of his time;' and the Biographies take their tone from the spirit which animated the writer in his philosophical works, a proof of which is furnished by the preamble to the *Life of Perikles*, which is to the moral treatises what the example is to the rule¹⁰³.

c. *The Life of Themistokles*

17. So far, then, in the biography of Themistokles we possess a valuable and important supplement to the chapters of Herodotus and Thucydides relating to him. We must not look to Plutarch for information concerning the main incidents of the Persian war or the building of the walls of Athens: he presupposes in his readers a knowledge of these events from the great historians who wrote of them; the information which he supplies is merely supplementary to their narrative; if he does give a more or less detailed account of any event after Herodotus, the historian's

¹⁰³ 'Each of the two halves of Plutarch's writings, of his Lives and Morals, constitutes a complement to the other; the one half setting forth to us and, so far as this was possible, from ideal points of view, what the ancient world had aimed at and accomplished in the world of action; the other what, in like manner, it had aimed at and accomplished in the world of thought.' Trench *I. c.* p. 90.

clear and racy narrative is obscured by the biographer's omissions or his confused and inaccurate description.

On the other hand, we should form but a very imperfect notion of the character of Themistokles himself from the writings of the historians: whereas in Plutarch's story of his life, we have a tolerably complete portrait of the man and his distinguishing characteristics. Interest in the personal history and characteristics of great men was unfortunately awakened too late among the Greek historians for them to be able to draw their knowledge of a man like Themistokles from direct sources: consequently Plutarch had at his disposal, in the works of the historians of the fourth and third centuries B.C., nothing but a mass of tradition, partly confused and obscure, partly interpolated, where originally fragmentary and incomplete, by subsequent writers. Now admirable as he was in some respects, we must admit that historical criticism was not Plutarch's strong point, certainly not according to the demands of modern historic science; he was not the man to correct such corruptions; nor had he any desire to exchange a full and complete narrative for one more or less fragmentary and imperfect by the removal of the embellishing additions which served to complete it—a process which, generally speaking, was repugnant to the historians of that time, and in Plutarch's case would have been inconsistent with the leading purpose of his biography; for his object was not to ascertain historic truth in the interest of science, but to represent a picture of human virtue in the interest of ethical philosophy.

As an instance in point, we may quote the story

of Themistokles' adventures in Asia. Nowhere does Plutarch present a fuller and more graphic or more interesting picture than here; but nowhere have we a less historically true representation of facts. The sum of what is clearly authenticated about them is given by Thucydides, and though Plutarch was acquainted with and even quotes his account (27, 1), yet he disdained to reproduce it, and chose rather to defer to the authority of an inferior writer like Phanias of Erebus.

Now, however well versed in historical literature Plutarch may have judged Phanias to be (13, 3), still he could not possibly have concealed from himself the fact that, if Phanias and Thucydides differed, the probability was beyond all question in favour of the latter being right.

But the fact is, Thucydides makes his hero die very prosaically of disease; and, if he does add that according to some accounts he poisoned himself, he spoils the story again by the motives which he assigns for the act, viz. his inability to fulfil the engagements which he had made to the King.

The narrative of Thucydides, compared with that of his rival, is, generally speaking, sober and simple as reality; we cannot therefore be surprised at Plutarch's preference. He says nothing about the dying of disease; he accepts as true the motives assigned by Thucydides for the suicide, but improves upon them by the addition of moral motives, which he believes to have been the really decisive ones. Our own feeling, it is true, no less than Plutarch's, revolts at the idea of a hero, who by his incomparable genius

and great achievements has excited our lively interest, being deterred from making war against his native land merely by some opportune illness, or by his conviction of the impracticability of the attempt. Hence even modern historians differ in their judgment: some, like Sintenis, in disregard of Thucydides' statement, consider the account of the suicide by poison, with Plutarch's explanation of the motives which led to it, as historical; others, as Ernst Curtius, while deferring to the authority of the great historian, attribute the illness to mental rather than physical causes; in fact they virtually accept the version given by Plutarch himself. Is it possible then to read between the lines of Thucydides without assuming that the great historian thought and felt no more about the events and persons he depicts than he can express in his highly realistic manner?

18. It must not, however, be supposed that Plutarch defied criticism altogether in his exclusive predilection for what was romantic. There was, for instance, a very touching and tragical narrative of the burial of Themistokles written by Phylarchus, the historian of the Spartan king Cleomenes III, which Plutarch rejects as unhistorical, precisely because it is tragical and touching. As a rule, he has none of that love of painting scenes of horror at the expense of historical truth, which is expressly censured by Polybius in the case of Phylarchus, and by himself elsewhere¹⁰⁴ in the case of Duris of Samos, but he appears always cautious and unimpassioned and critical, so far as a natural

¹⁰⁴ *Perikl.* 28, 2.

impulse, untutored and without searching study, can be. Method indeed he has none—as is shown by the predilection, which he openly avows, for anecdotes and apophthegms. What he says in the passage already quoted¹⁰⁸ from the life of Alexander is quite correct; viz. that such small traits may be in the highest degree valuable for a knowledge of character, although, on the other hand, they are by no means the chief point, nor do they constitute the greatness of the character and of the man, in virtue of which he is considered worthy of a special biography. And they are valuable only when they are true or at least conceived in the spirit or under the influence of the person concerned. But Plutarch pays so little attention to the truth or probability of his stories, that he frequently collects anything that comes to hand, placing the true and the false, the good and the bad, the clever and the foolish, side by side without any discrimination.

19. Among the faults of Plutarch's Life of Themistokles must be reckoned his disregard of chronology—the natural consequence of the purely ethical aim of his biographies; his lack of insight into the true significance of political events which he is relating; and his inability to estimate rightly great political situations—faults, however, which are more conspicuous in his other lives, as for instance in that of Perikles. On the other hand, we find in the Life of Themistokles fewer gleams of pictorial force, and less sympathy for his hero; and not without reason, for Themistokles could hardly be considered a mirror of all virtue if we except the virtue of *σοφία*. Nor

¹⁰⁸ note 99 p. xxxvi.

does Plutarch concern himself much about removing or palliating the blots in his hero's character, chief among which must be reckoned his unscrupulous avarice: indeed he does no more than occasionally tone down the narrative of Herodotus in favour of Themistokles. Thus, for instance, he makes him divide the Euboic money honestly between Eurybiades and the rest, whereas, according to Herodotus, he gave some to the others, but reserved by far the greater share for himself. This weakness is in general a trait of Plutarch's which does more honour to his humanity than to his credibility as an historian: in the present biography he extends his indulgence to the Corinthian Adeimantos, who, as is well known, plays a bad part in Herodotus, but is never once mentioned by name in Plutarch in the passages relating to him. He had no doubt in this one instance cogent historical grounds for mistrusting Herodotus; still it is a strange sort of criticism to take a narrative about a man out of Herodotus and then to put down 'somebody' instead of mentioning the man by name.

20. The Biography falls into the following parts:—

A. c. 1—c. 5. In this the Biographer treats of the family (1), the youthful education (2) and the political life of Themistokles up to the time of the war with Xerxes, and has collected a string of anecdotes about his hero.

B. c. 6—c. 17. In this section he contributes some gleanings to the history of the great Persian War, a knowledge of which in general is presupposed in his readers, in so far as Themistokles was actively

engaged in it, i.e. until the retreat of the Persian king and the honours paid to Themistokles by the Spartans. To these gleanings a fresh series of anecdotes, affording further illustration of his hero's character, are added (c. 18).

C. c. 19—c. 22. This section carries us up to the ostracism of Themistokles.

D. c. 23—c. 31. The fourth depicts his accusation and flight, his reception at the Court of the King and residence in Asia until his death.

E. c. 32. The biography concludes with an account of the family he left behind him and of his burial.

d. The sources of information accessible to Plutarch

21. No less than thirty authors, all told, are named or quoted by Plutarch in this Biography, as his sources of information: but there is a wide difference between them as regards the importance and extent of the materials which they afford. The two great historians Herodotus and Thucydides supply the foundation respectively for the second, and the third and fourth principal divisions of the Life: the former is quoted in c. 7, c. 17, and c. 21, the latter in c. 25 and c. 27. It is easy to see, what in particular is borrowed from these authors and what not: and notice is throughout taken in the Commentary. His principal authority for the first Division was probably Theopompus, who is also quoted in c. 19, c. 25 and c. 31: for the continuation and completion of the narratives of Herodotus and Thucydides, Ephorus is cited in c. 27. These two historians of the fourth century B.C. were both brought up in the school of Isokrates, their style

consequently has a strong rhetorical tinge: but they were radically different in character and turn of mind and accordingly chose different subjects. Ephorus in his 30 books of *iστορίαι* treated of the history of the Hellenes and Barbarians before the migration of the Herakleidae—which since his time has always been taken as the beginning of the historical period—up to the siege of Perinthos in B.C. 340; and showed himself in his writings rather a careful scholar, whose chronicles of the foundation of cities, old constitutions and such like matters were universally esteemed, than a lively historian, capable of deep insight into the causes and relations of events. Polybius, for instance, reproaches him for his inability to describe a battle, and his statement of the causes of the Peloponnesian War, preserved in the works of Diodorus Siculus and in Plutarch's *Perikles*, is a striking instance of the vast difference between him and Thucydides. Theopompus, on the other hand, who was a partisan of the aristocratic faction in his native town Chios and who lived for a long time in exile, like his great predecessor, devoted his leisure and a considerable part of his ample fortune towards procuring accurate information about the particulars he chronicled, and, though he did not attain to the greatness of Thukydides and was too subjective a writer, nevertheless the loss of his historical works—the σύνταξις Ἐλληνικῶν, in 12 books, from the battle of Kunossema to that of Knidos, and the Φιλιππικὰ in 28 books—is one of the most to be regretted in Greek Literature. His Philippica, indeed, was a very miscellaneous compilation, without much method or unity of purpose and contained a great

number of digressions. One of these, forming the tenth Book, gives an account of the early history of Attica and of the old Athenian statesmen, amongst others of Themistokles, about whom he was able to get together, with his characteristic diligence and trustworthiness, some tolerably well-attested intelligence. The chronicle of Theopompus may conjecturally be traced in the following passages of his Life:—in c. I, 1 the statements concerning his parentage; in c. II, 1, 2 his education, and 5 his early life; in c. III, 1, 2 his entrance on political life and rivalry with Aristeides; in c. IV, 1—3 the development of the Athenian naval power; in c. V, 4 *fin.* the ostracism of Aristeides; in c. XI, 1 his recall; in c. XIX, 1 a quotation concerning the building of the walls, and 2—3 that of the Peiraeus (with the exception of the last sentence); in c. XX, 2 *fin.* and XXII, 1 *init.* his unpopularity at Athens and Sparta, and finally the quotations in c. XXV, 2 and c. XXXI, 2.

Plutarch's obligations to Ephorus may to some extent be ascertained from the works of Diodorus Siculus, whose compilation was chiefly based upon his history. Thus the description of Xerxes' arrangements before the battle of Salamis¹⁶⁶ in c. XII, 2 and the account of the death of the Persian admiral¹⁶⁷ in c. XIV, 2, 3 appear to be borrowed from him. The same may be said of the account of Pausanias' negotiations with Themistokles in c. XXIII, 2, 3 and of

¹⁶⁶ Diod. Sic. XI 17 D speaks of the Egyptian fleet, Plutarch of 200 ships, but acc. to Herodotus the Egyptians had supplied as many as that.

¹⁶⁷ cf. Diod. Sic. c. 18 and c. 27.

the order for the arrest of the latter¹⁰⁸ and we may add also c. xxvii, 1.

22. Plutarch, however, must have been far more indebted to Phanias,¹⁰⁹ than to these two historians, and a life of Themistokles by this author must apparently have been at the disposal of our Biographer. Phanias shared the predilection of Aristotle and his school for polyhistory and extended research in the whole field of literature: but, while the other Peripatetics were merely careless and uncritical compilers, Phanias, who unlike the rest cultivated style and studied to make his narrative interesting, must be designated without reserve as a falsifier of history. He gives a much more minute and detailed account of Themistokles' fortunes in Asia than a contemporary could have given, and what with dreams and portents there is a halo of romance about it: so that as a piece of history it is quite untrustworthy¹¹⁰. We can form a pretty clear idea of the extent of Plutarch's obligation to Phanias; the story about the human sacrifice at Salamis (c. xiii, 2) as well as that about Architeles at Artemisium; and finally the notice about Themistokles' mother. And besides these, the tale of the owl (c. xii, 1) may possibly be from him.

¹⁰⁸ Diodor. Sic. c. 54 f.

¹⁰⁹ cp. § 17 p. xli.

¹¹⁰ Blass thinks there is little doubt that the whole of the section c. 26—c. 31, 2, which contains a coherent and homogeneous narrative, is taken out of Phanias. He is expressly quoted for the conversation in c. 27 (besides c. 29, 4), but if so, then c. 28 must also be from him, and the mention therein made of the dream in Nikogenes' house gives us further ground for forming a conclusion as to c. 26.

23. The importance of the remaining authorities for the biography is much slighter : and therefore a brief survey of them will be sufficient. Aristotle is quoted in c. x, 4, and his successor Theophrastus in c. xxv, 1, 2; the 'Politics' of the former are presumably referred to, which together with the description of the constitutions of cities contained a good many historical notices ; in the case of the latter writer a philosophical treatise is especially named as the source of the first statement. Besides these another member of the Peripatetic school, Ariston of Keos (B.C. 225), is quoted as the authority for an extraordinary love story (c. III, 2), and the great Mathematician and Chronologer Eratosthenes of Kyrene, who was a Stoic philosopher and in a philosophical treatise (c. xxvii, 3) contributed some more satisfactory information about Themistokles than Phanias did. Plato is quoted in c. iv, 3 and in c. xxxii, and is perhaps the authority for c. xviii, 2.

24. Of the historians proper, besides those already named, who are occasionally made use of, the oldest is Charon of Lampsakos (c. xxvii, 1), who was prior to Herodotus and is reckoned among the logographs ; he was the author among other writings of five books of Περσικά. There was a work under a similar title by Deinon of Kolophon in the time of Alexander ; and his son Kleitarchus, one of the most untrustworthy chroniclers of Alexander the Great, is mentioned along with him. Herakleides also of Kyme is mentioned, who likewise wrote Περσικά and may have been a contemporary of theirs. Neanthes of Kyzicus (at the end of the third century B.C.) is quoted

in c. i, 2 and c. xxix, 4; the passages are from his *Ἐλληνικὰ ιστορία*. Somewhat older than these is Phylarchos (c. xxxii, 2). The antiquarian writers, who composed the Attides on the legendary and historical lore of Athens, form a special group, the oldest of whom Kleidemos is mentioned in c. x, 4 and Phanodemos in c. xiii, 1; Philochoros, the most important of all (at the beginning of the third century B.C.), is probably the authority for the tale of the dog of Xanthippus, c. x, 5¹¹¹. About the same time with him, lived Diodorus Periegetes, from whose treatise on the monuments of Attica (*περὶ μνημάτων*) the account of Themistokles' grave in c. xxxii, 3 is borrowed. A comparison of the life of Kimon, c. xvi, might lead us to suppose that the circumstantial account of Themistokles' family is taken from the same source. Akestodorus of Megalopolis (c. xiii, 1), who is quoted together with Phanodemos, has left behind him a work *περὶ πόλεων*.

25. The writing *περὶ Θεμιστοκλέους καὶ Θουκυδίδου καὶ Περικλέους*, which passed under the name of Ste-simbrotes of Thasos, a sophist who lived at Athens in the age of Perikles and was occupied in the explanation of Homer, belongs apparently to a much earlier period. The work in question, which has lately been pronounced to be a spurious production of a later age¹¹², so far as Themistokles is concerned (c. ii, 3, c. iv, 4,

¹¹¹ cf. Aelian N. A. xii 35, who relates the same story, referring to Aristotle and Philochorus as vouchers for it.

¹¹² c. Bursian, *Litt. Centralbl.* 1860 p. 620, and Franz Rühl, *die Quellen Plutarchs im Leben des Kimon*, Marburg 1867, p. 29—37.

c. xxiv, 3), is altogether untrustworthy. About the same time as Stesimbrotes lived Ion the tragic and lyric poet of Chios, whose prose work *'Επιδημίαι*, which records the author's experiences during his visits to other countries and his interviews with celebrated men, even in the scanty fragments of it which are extant, gives evidence of a refined and highly cultivated mind. The authenticity of this work has been disputed by some, its credibility by others, but without any reason. In the Life of Themistokles it forms the foundation for the anecdote related in c. ii, 3.

26. The remaining authorities cited by Plutarch are either the Attic orators, such as Andokides (c. xxxii, 2), known as the accuser in the trial of the Hermokopidae, who however has no claim to historical credibility either in his account of Themistokles or in any other, where he is not relating his own experiences; or poets as Simonides (c. i, 3; c. xv, 2), Pindar (c. viii, 2), Aeschylus (c. xiv, 1), Aristophanes (c. xix, 3), and his contemporary Plato the comic poet (c. xxxii, 3), and finally, one of much greater importance than all these for his life, the Rhodian Timokreon (c. xxi, 2, 3), famous as an athlete as well as lyric poet, and as a bitter enemy not only of Themistokles but of Simonides and many others.

CHRONOLOGICAL TABLE
OF THE PRINCIPAL EVENTS IN THE LIFE
OF THEMISTOKLES

OLYMPIADS AND ARCHONS	B.C.		
63. 4	525	Birth of THYMISTOKLES <i>(circ.).</i> Birth of AESCHYLUS .	Kambyses conquers Egypt in the 6th year of his reign. War of the Spartans against Polykrates of Samos.
64. Miltiades 2.	524 523	Choerilus first exhibits tragedy.	
3. 4.	522 521		End of Polykrates. Death of Kambyses, over- throw of the party of the Magians and accession of Darius (<i>ad. 23</i>).
65.	520	Hekataeus and Dionysius of Miletus fl. Melanippides of Melos, the dithyrambic poet, fl.	
2.	519	Birth of Kratinus the comic poet.	The Plataeans place them- selves under the protection of Athens. The power and prosperity of the Aeginetans at their height. They defeat the Samian pirates.
3.	518	Birth of Pindar.	Miltiades governor of the Chersonese. Hipparchus slain by Harmo- dius and Aristogelton.
66. 2. 3.	515 514		
67. 2.	511	PHRYTIKHUS (5. 3), the tragic poet, gains his first victory.	
3.	510		EXPULSION OF THE PEISI- TRIDAE. Reforms of KLEISTHENES AT ATHENS.
68. Isagoras	508		

CHRONOLOGICAL TABLE

lvi

OLYMPIADES AND ARCHONNES	B.C.	
69. Akemo- rides	594	CHARON, the historian, of Lampsakos fl. (27. 1).
2.	593	Heraclitus of Ephesus, the philosopher, and Laoz of Hierapolis, the lyric poet, fl.
3.	592	Pindar Pyth. x. <i>Hippodæus Thessala,</i> Hesiodus <i>musicus</i> at the deliberations of the Ionians respecting the revolt.
70. Myrus	590	Birth of Anaxagoras the philosopher. Eukleidous perfects com- edy in Sicily.
2.	499	AMONONTUS (ad. 25) first exhibits tragedy with Pratinas and Choribus.
71. Hippas- tus	496	Birth of Hellanikus of Mytilene the historian. Birth of SOROKTOS.
2. Philip- pus	495	
3. Pytho- kelitus	494	Pindar Pyth. vi. <i>Xenokratis Agrigentinus.</i>
4. The- misto- kles	493	
72. Diognetas	492	
2. Hybris- ides	491	
3. Phae- nippus	490	Pindar Pyth. 7. Aeschylus fights at Ma- ratona (ad. 26).
4. Aris- toclides	489	
73. Anchises	488	
1.	487	Chilonides, the Athenian comic poet, first es- tablished. Minonides of Keos (5. 4) fl.
3.	486	Pindar Pyth. 8.
		Revolt of Egypt from Persia.
		Naval empire of Eretria.
		Siege of Naxos by Aristagoras and the Persians. Revolt of Aristagoras from Persia.
		Outbreak of the Ionian revolt. Mardonius taken and burnt by the Ionians, assisted by the Athenians.
		The Battle of Lade and fall of Miletus.
		Miltiades takes flight from the Thracian Chersonese to Athens. Archonship of Themistokles.
		Expedition of Xerxes. Shipwreck of the Persian fleet off Mt Athos.
		Darius sends to demand earth and water from the Greeks. Demaratus (29. 3), King of Sparta, deposed by the intrigues of his col- league Kleomenes. Feud between Athens and As- gina (6. 1). The foun- dation of the Peiraeus.
		Second invasion of Europe by the Persians under Datis and Artaphernes, guided by Hippias. They land in Attica and are defeated at MARATONA, Sept. 12, by the Athenians and Plataniotes under the command of Mil- tiades (5. 4).
		Failure of Miltiades to take Paros; his indictment, con- viction and death.

OLYMPIADS AND ARCHONS	B.C.	
4. Philo- krates	485	
74. Leostra- tos	484	Birth of Herodotus. Pindar Ol. x and xi. <i>Agesidamo Locrensi.</i> Aeschylus gains the prize in Tragedy.
2. Nikode- mos	483	
4. Themis- tokles	481	
75. Kalliaides	480	Birth of EURIPIDES. Pherekydes, of Athens, the historian, fl. Anaxagoras begins his career at Athens.
2. Kan- thippus	479	Birth of Antipho, the Athenian orator. Birth of Choerilus of Samos, the epic poet (?).
3. Timos- thenes	478	Herodotus' history ter- minates with the siege of Sestos. Pindar Pyth. ix <i>Teleicrati Cyrenaeo.</i> Pyth. xi <i>Thrasydæo</i> <i>puero Thebano.</i>
4. Adel- mantos	477	Themistokles wins a prize as tragic choragus (5, 3). Phrynicus gains his last victory with the <i>Phœ- nissæ</i> , ib.
76. Phaedon	476	Pindar Olymp. xiv <i>Asopicho Orchomenio.</i> Simonides (act. 80) gains the prize <i>drôpov xópep.</i>
2. Dromo- kloides	475	

Death of Dareios and accession of Xerxes.
Gelon becomes tyrant of Syracuse.
Egypt reconquered by the Persians.

Ostracism of ARISTIDES (12, 1).
Athens under the guidance of THIMISTOKLES.
Xerxes in winter-quarters at Sardes. Formation of the Isthmian confederacy under the nominal hegemony of Sparta.
Third Persian Invasion by Xerxes (9, 2). Battles of THERMOPYLÆ (9, 1), and ARTEMISIUM (8, 1), followed by that of SALAMIS, Sept. 20 (14). Battle of Himera.

Second evacuation of Athens and occupation of it by the Persians.

Battles of Plataea and Mycale, followed by a renewal of the Isthmian confederation and the liberation of Thrace and Macedon from the Persian power. Victory of Mycale. Rebuilding of Athens. The Peloponnesians hinder the building of the walls.

Themistokles at Sparta. His administrative reforms, consequent upon the creation of the Peiræus. Siege and fall of Sestos. Hero succeeds Gelon as tyrant of Syracuse. Recall of Pausanias from Byzantium to Sparta.

Formation of a confederacy in the Archipelago with Athens as the federal capital. Aristides appointed treasurer, and assessor of the tribute to be paid by the several states.

Victories of Kimon, who takes Eion on the Strymon and Skyros.

OLYMPIADS AND ARCHONS	B.C.	
77. Chares	474	Pindar Pyth. 1 and 3
	473	Pindar Nemean 1.
	472	Aeschyl Persas (14, 1). Pindar Olymp. 1 and 12. Nem. 9, Isthm. 2. Themistokles visits the Olympian games (17, 2).
	471	Birth of THUCYDIDES, the historian (27, 1). Timokreon of Rhodes, the lyric poet, fl. (21, 2).
2. Praxitegus	470	
	469	
78. Theagenes	468	Pindar Olymp. 6. First tragic victory of Sophocles, act. 27.
	467	Birth of SOKRATES. Birth of Andokides, one of the ten Attic orators.
	466	Death of Simonides. Pindar Pyth. 4 and 5 Arcessilao Cyrenaeo. Diagoras of Melos fl.
	465	
4. Lysitheos	464	Pindar Olymp. 7 Diagoras Rhodio; 18 Xenophonti Corinthio.
	463	
	462	
	461	
79. Archidemides	460	Hiero's naval victory off Cumae over the Tuscans.
	459	Death of Theron of Agrigentum.
	458	Ostracism of Themistokles and his withdrawal to Argos (23, 1). Pausanias, convicted of treason, is put to death.
	457	Perikles begins to take part in public affairs. The remains of Theseus transported to Athens by Kimon.
2. Lysistratus	456	Death of Aristide. Mycenae destroyed by the Argives.
	455	Death of Hiero.
	454	Expulsion of Thrasybulos, Hiero's successor, from Syracuse, and overthrow of the Gelonian dynasty.
	453	Siege of Naxos, during which Themistokles in his flight from Greece, passed through the Athenian fleet (23, 1). Victory on the Eurymedon. Revolt of Thasos from Athens. Death of Xerxes; soon after which Themistokles arrived in Persia during the influence of Artabanes, by whom he is introduced to Artaxerxes I. (27).
2. Tiepolenos	452	Revolt of the Helots against Spartans; rupture of Athens with Sparta; alliance between Athens and Argos.
	451	The Thasians are reduced to subjection in the third year. Regeneration of Argos.
	450	Third year of the Messenian war. Expedition of Kimon to Sparta.
	449	Kimon ostracized by the democratic party, headed by his rival PERIKLES. Separate alliance between Athens, Argos and Thessaly. Megara joins Athenian alliance; long walls of Megara built.

OLYMPIADS AND ARCHONS	B.C.		
80. Phrasikleides	460	Birth of Hippokrates the physician. Birth of Demokritos. Pindar Ol. 8 <i>Alcimedonti pueri</i> .	Revolt of Inarus and first year of the war between Egypt and Persia. Kimon's expedition to Egypt. <i>N.B.</i> Curtius places the DEATH of THEMISTOKLES about this year (<i>Hist. Greece</i> , Vol. II, p. 361) and his birth in 525. Plutarch says he lived 65 years (31, 4).
2. Philokles 3. Bion 4. Mnesitheides	459 458 457	Birth of Lysias, one of the ten Attic orators. The 'Operaria' of Aeschylus performed.	Campaign of the Spartans in Doris, and Athenian defeat at the battle of Tanagra.
81. Kallias	456	Pindar Olymp. 9. Herodotus (<i>act. 28</i>) recites his history at the Olympic games (?). Death of Aeschylus, <i>act. 69</i> .	Victory of the Athenians under Myronides over the Boeotians at Oenophyta. Completion of the long walls of Athens. Fall of Ithome.
2. Sosistratos	455	First play (<i>Ilæstides</i>) of Euripides, <i>act. 25</i> , which gains the prize.	Campaign of Tolmides. He settles the expelled Messenians at Naupaktos. All Egypt reduced, except the marshes under Amyrtaeus (see B.C. 449). Surrender of Ithome. Aegina conquered by Athens.
3. Ariston 4. Lysikrates	454 453		Campaign of Perikles at Sikyon. Return of Kimon.
82. Chaerophonae 2. Antidotatos 3. Euthydemos 4. Pedieus	452 451 450 449	Pindar Olymp. 4, 5 <i>Peumidi Camarinaeo</i> . Ion of Chios begins to exhibit tragedy. Anaxagoras, <i>act. 50</i> , leaves Athens. Krates, the comic poet, and Bakchylides the lyric poet, fl.	Five Years' truce between Athens and Sparta, made through the intervention of KIMON.
83. Philakos 2. Timarchides	448 447	Cratini Archonship.	Renewal of the war with Persia. The Athenians send help to Amyrtaeus. Last campaign and death of KIMON and victory of the Athenians at Salamis in Cyprus. Defeat of the Athenians under Tolmides by the Boeotians at Koroneia. Termination of the Five Years' truce. Some place the death of Themistokles in this year.

ΠΛΟΤΤΑΡΧΟΤ ΘΕΜΙΣΤΟΚΛΗΣ

I Θεμιστοκλεῖ δὲ τὰ μὲν ἐκ γένους ἀμαυρότερα πρὸς δόξαν ὑπῆρχε· πατρὸς γὰρ The parent-age of Themistokles. ἦν Νεοκλέους οὐ τῶν ἄγαν ἐπιφανῶν
'Αθήνησι, Φρεαρρίου τῶν δήμων ἐκ τῆς Λεοντίδος
5 φυλῆς, νόθος δὲ πρὸς μητρός, ὡς λέγουσιν
'Αβρότονον Θρῆσσα γυνὴ γένος· ἀλλὰ τεκέσθαι
τὸν μέγαν Ἑλλησίν φημι Θεμιστοκλέα.

Φαντασίας μέντοι τὴν μητέρα τοῦ Θεμιστοκλέους οὐδὲ
Θράτταν ἀλλὰ Καρίνην, οὐδὲ 'Αβρότονον ὄνομα
10 ἀλλὰ Εύτέρπην ἀναγράφει. Νεάνθης δὲ καὶ πόλιν
αὐτῆς τῆς Καρίας 'Αλικαρνασσὸν προστίθησι. διὸ
καὶ τῶν νόθων εἰς Κυνόσαργες συντελούντων
(τοῦτο δὲ ἔστιν ἔξω πυλῶν γυμνάσιον Ἡρακλέους,
ἐπεὶ κάκείνος οὐκ ἦν γυνήσιος ἐν θεοῖς, ἀλλὰ ἐνεί-
15 χετο νοθείᾳ διὰ τὴν μητέρα θυητὴν οὖσαν) ἔπειθε
τινας δὲ Θεμιστοκλῆς τῶν εὐ γεγονότων νεανίσκων
καταβαίνοντας εἰς τὸ Κυνόσαργες ἀλείφεσθαι
μετ' αὐτοῦ. καὶ τούτου γενομένου δοκεῖ πανούρ-3
γως τὸν τῶν νόθων καὶ γυνησίων διορισμὸν ἀνελεῖν.
ν"Οτι μέντοι τοῦ Λυκομιδῶν γένους μετεῖχε δῆλος

ἐστι· τὸ γάρ Φλυήσι τελεστήριον, ὅπερ ἦν Λυκομιδῶν κοινόν, ἐμπρησθὲν ὑπὸ τῶν βαρβάρων αὐτὸς ἐπεσκεύασε καὶ γραφαῖς ἐκόσμησεν, ὡς Σιμωνίδης ἴστορικεν.

II Ἐτι δὲ πᾶς ὁν ὁμολογεῖται φορᾶς μεστὸς εἶναι 5

_{His boyhood.} καὶ τῇ μὲν φύσει συνετός, τῇ δὲ προαιρέσει μεγαλοπράγμων καὶ πολιτικός. ἐν γάρ ταῖς ἀνέσεσι καὶ σχολαῖς ἀπὸ τῶν μαθημάτων γινόμενος οὐκ ἔπαιξεν οὐδὲ ἐρρᾳθύμει καθάπερ οἱ λοιποὶ παῖδες, ἀλλ’ εὐρίσκετο λόγους τινὰς μελετῶν καὶ συνταττόμενος πρὸς ἑαυτόν. ἦσαν δὲ οἱ λόγοι κατηγορία τινὸς ἡ συνηγορία τῶν παιδών.

2 Ὁθεν εἰώθει λέγειν πρὸς αὐτὸν ὁ διδάσκαλος ὡς ‘οὐδὲν ἔσῃ, παῖ, σὺ μικρόν, ἀλλὰ μέγα πάντως ἀγαθὸν ἡ κακόν.’ ἐπεὶ καὶ τῶν παιδεύσεων τὰς 15 μὲν ἡθοποιοὺς ἡ πρὸς ἥδονήν τινα καὶ χάριν ἐλευθέριον σπουδαζομένας ὀκνηρῶς καὶ ἀπροθύμως ἔξεμάνθανε τῶν δὲ εἰς σύνεσιν ἡ πρᾶξιν λεγομένων δῆλος ἦν ὑπερορῶν παρ’ ἡλικιαν, ὡς τῇ φύσει

3 πιστεύων. “Οθεν ὕστερον ἐν ταῖς ἐλευθερίοις καὶ ₂₀ ἀστελαῖς λεγομέναις διατριβᾶς ὑπὸ τῶν πεπαιδεῦσθαι δοκούντων χλευαζόμενος ἡναγκάζετο φορτικώτερον ἀμύνεσθαι, λέγων ὅτι λύραν μὲν ἀρμόσασθαι καὶ μεταχειρίσασθαι ψαλτήριον οὐκ ἐπίσταιτο, πόλιν δὲ μικρὰν καὶ ἄδοξον παραλα- ₂₅ βῶν ἔνδοξον καὶ μεγάλην ἀπεργάσασθαι. καίτοι Στησίμβροτος Ἀναξαγόρου τε διακούσαι τὸν Θεμιστοκλέα φησὶ καὶ περὶ Μέλισσον σπουδάσαι τὸν φυσικόν, οὐκ εὐ τῶν χρόνων ἀπτόμενος. Περικλεῖ γάρ, ὃς πολὺ νεώτερος ἦν Θεμιστοκλέους, ₃₀

Μέλισσος μὲν ἀντεστρατήγει πολιωρκοῦντι Σαμίους, Ἀναξαγόρας δὲ συνδιέτριβε. Μᾶλλον οὖν 4
 ἂν τις προσέχοι τοῖς Μνησιφίλου τὸν Θεμιστοκλέα
 τοῦ Φρεαρρίου ξηλωτὴν γενέσθαι λέγουσιν, οὐτε
 5 φῆτορος δύτος οὐτε τῶν φυσικῶν κληθέντων φιλο-
 σόφων, ἀλλὰ τὴν τότε καλουμένην σοφίαν, οὐσαν
 δὲ δεινότητα πολιτικὴν καὶ δραστήριον σύνεσιν,
 ἐπιτήδευμα πεποιημένου καὶ διασώζοντος ὥσπερ
 αἵρεσιν ἐκ διαδοχῆς ἀπὸ Σόλωνος· ἦν οἱ μετὰ
 10 ταῦτα δικαιικαὶς μίξαντες τέχναις καὶ μεταγαγόν-
 τες ἀπὸ τῶν πράξεων τὴν ἀσκησιν ἐπὶ τοὺς λόγους
 σοφισταὶ προστηγορεύθησαν. Τούτῳ μὲν οὖν ἡδη 5
 πολιτευόμενος ἐπληστάξεν. ἐν δὲ ταῖς πρώταις
 τῆς νεότητος δρμαῖς ἀνώμαλος ἦν καὶ ἀστάθμητος,
 15 ἄτε τῇ φύσει καθ' αὐτὴν χρώμενος ἄνευ λόγου
 καὶ παιδείας ἐπ' ἀμφότερα μεγάλας ποιουμένη
 μεταβολὰς τῶν ἐπιτηδευμάτων καὶ πολλάκις ἔξι-
 σταμένη πρὸς τὸ χείρον, ὡς ὕστερον αὐτὸς ὠμο-
 λόγει καὶ τοὺς τραχυτάτους πώλους ἀρίστους
 20 ἵππους γίνεσθαι φάσκων, ὅταν ἡς προσήκει τύχωσι
 παιδείας καὶ καταρτύσεως. ⁶Α δὲ τούτων ἔξαρ-
 τῶσιν ἔνιοι διηγήματα πλάττοντες, ἀποκήρυξιν
 μὲν ὑπὸ τοῦ πατρὸς αὐτοῦ, θάνατον δὲ τῆς μητρὸς
 ἐκούσιον ἐπὶ τῇ τοῦ παιδὸς ἀτιμίᾳ περιιλύπου γενο-
 25 μένης, δοκεῖ κατεψεῦσθαι· καὶ τούναντίον εἰσὶν οἱ
 λέγοντες, ὅτι τὰ κοινὰ πράττειν ἀποτρέπων αὐτὸν
 ὁ πατήρ ἐπεδείκνυε πρὸς τὴν θαλάττην τὰς παλαιὰς
 τριήρεις ἔρριμμένας καὶ παρορωμένας, ὡς δὴ καὶ
 πρὸς τοὺς δημαγωγούς, ὅταν ἄχρηστοι φαίνωνται.
 30 τῶν πολλῶν δμοίων ἔχόντων.

- III Ταχὺ μέντοι καὶ νεανικῶς ἔοικεν ἄψασθαι τοῦ Θεμιστοκλέους τὰ πολιτικὰ πράγματα καὶ σφόδρα ἡ πρὸς δόξαν ὄρμὴ κρατῆσαι, δι’ ἣν εὐθὺς ἐξ ἀρχῆς τοῦ πρωτεύειν ἐφιέμενος ἵταμῶς ὑφίστατο τὰς πρὸς 5 τοὺς δυναμένους ἐν τῇ πόλει καὶ πρωτεύοντας ἀπεχθείας, μάλιστα δὲ Ἀριστείδην τὸν Λυσιμάχου, τὴν ἐναντίαν ἀεὶ πορευόμενον αὐτῷ. καίτοι δοκεῖ παντάπασιν ἡ πρὸς τούτον ἔχθρα 2 μειρακιώδη λαβεῖν ἀρχήν. Ἡράσθησαν γὰρ 10 ἀμφότεροι τοῦ καλοῦ Στησίλεω, Κελου τὸ γένος ὄντος, ὡς Ἀρίστων ὁ φιλόσοφος ιστόρηκεν ἐκ δὲ τούτου διετέλουν καὶ περὶ τὰ δημόσια στασιάζοντες. οὐ μὴν ἀλλ’ ἡ τῶν Βίων καὶ τῶν τρόπων ἀνομοιότης ἔοικεν αὐξῆσαι τὴν διαφοράν. 15 πρᾶος γὰρ ὃν φύσει καὶ καλοκαγαθικὸς τὸν τρόπον ὁ Ἀριστείδης καὶ πολιτευόμενος οὐ πρὸς χάριν οὐδὲ πρὸς δόξαν, ἀλλ’ ἀπὸ τοῦ βελτίστου μετὰ ἀσφαλείας καὶ δικαιοσύνης, ἡναγκάζετο τῷ Θεμιστοκλεῖ τὸν δῆμον ἐπὶ πολλὰ κινοῦντι καὶ 20 μεγάλας ἐπιφέροντι καινοτομίας ἐναντιοῦσθαι πολ- 3 λάκις ἐνιστάμενος αὐτοῦ πρὸς τὴν αὐξῆσιν. Λέγεται γὰρ οὕτω παράφορος πρὸς δόξαν εἶναι καὶ πράξεων μεγάλων ὑπὸ φιλοτιμίας ἐραστής, ὥστε νέος ὃν ἔτι τῆς ἐν Μαραθῶνι μάχης πρὸς τοὺς 25 βαρβάρους γενομένης καὶ τῆς Μιλτιάδου στρατηγίας διαβοηθείσης σύννονος δρᾶσθαι τὰ πολλὰ πρὸς ἐαυτῷ καὶ τὰς υὔκτας ἀγρυπνεύν καὶ τοὺς πότους παραιτεῖσθαι τοὺς συνήθεις καὶ λέγειν πρὸς τοὺς ἡρωτῶντας καὶ θαυμάζοντας τὴν περὶ τὸν βίον 30

μεταβολήν, ώς καθεύδειν αὐτὸν οὐκ ἐάνη τὸ τοῦ Μιλτιάδου τρόπαιον. Οἱ μὲν γὰρ ἄλλοι πέρας 4
φῶντο τοῦ πολέμου τὴν ἐν Μαραθώνι τῶν βαρβά-
ρων ἥτταν εἶναι, Θεμιστοκλῆς δὲ ἀρχὴν μειζόνων
5 ἀγώνων, ἐφ' οὓς ἑαυτὸν ὑπέρ τῆς ὅλης 'Ελλάδος
ἥλειφε καὶ τὴν πόλιν ἥσκει, πόρρωθεν ἔτι προσ-
δοκῶν τὸ μέλλον.

Καὶ πρῶτου μὲν τὴν Λαυρεωτικὴν πρόσοδον IV
ἀπὸ τῶν ἀργυρείων μετάλλων ἔθος ἔχόν-
ιο των Ἀθηναίων διανέμεσθαι, μόνος εἰπεῖν
ἐτόλμησε παρελθὼν εἰς τὸν δῆμον, ώς
χρὴ τὴν διανομὴν ἔσαντας ἐκ τῶν χρη-
μάτων τούτων κατασκευάσασθαι τριήρεις
ἐπὶ τὸν πρὸς Αἴγινητας πόλεμον. ἦκ-
15 μαζεὶ γὰρ οὗτος ἐν τῇ 'Ελλάδι μάλιστα,
καὶ κατεῖχον οἱ νησιῶται πλήθει νεῶν
τὴν θάλασσαν. Ἡι καὶ ρᾶσον Θεμιστο-
κλῆς συνέπεισεν, οὐ Δαρεῖον οὐδὲ Πέρσας (μακρὰν
γὰρ ἥσαν οὗτοι καὶ δέος οὐ πάνυ βέβαιον ώς ἀφι-
20 ξόμενοι παρεῖχον) ἐπισείων, ἀλλὰ τῇ πρὸς Αἴγι-
νητας ὄργῃ καὶ φιλονεικίᾳ τῶν πολιτῶν ἀποχρη-
σάμενος εὐκαίρως ἐπὶ τὴν παρασκευήν. ἑκατὸν γὰρ
ἀπὸ τῶν χρημάτων ἐκείνων ἐποιήθησαν τριήρεις,
αἱ καὶ πρὸς Ξέρξην ἐναυμάχησαν. Ἐκ δὲ τούτου 3
25 κατὰ μικρὸν ὑπάγων καὶ καταβιβάζων τὴν πόλιν
πρὸς τὴν θάλασσαν, ώς τὰ πεζὰ μὲν οὐδὲ τοὺς
ὅμοροις ἀξιομάχους δύντας, τῇ δ' ἀπὸ τῶν νεῶν
ἀλκῇ καὶ τοὺς βαρβάρους ἀμύνασθαι καὶ τῆς
'Ελλάδος ἀρχειν δυναμένους, ἀντὶ μονίμων ὄπλι-
30 τῶν, ὡς φησιν ὁ Πλάτων, ναυβάτας καὶ θαλαττίους

Fore-thought
of Themis-
tokles. He
urges con-
version of
Athens from
a land power
into a naval
power, and
application
of the fund
from the
mines of
Laurium to
the war
against the
Aeginetans.

έποιήσε, καὶ διαβολὴν καθ' αὐτοῦ παρέσχει, ώς
ἄρα Θεμιστοκλῆς τὸ δόρυ καὶ τὴν ἀσπίδα τῶν
πολιτῶν παρελόμενος εἰς ὑπηρέσιον καὶ κώπην
4 συνέστειλε τὸν Ἀθηναίων δῆμον. "Επράξε δὲ ταῦ-
τα Μιλτιάδου κρατήσας ἀντιλέγοντος, ώς ἴστορει 5
Στησίμβροτος. εἰ μὲν δὴ τὴν ἀκρίβειαν καὶ τὸ
καθαρὸν τοῦ πολιτεύματος ἔβλαψεν ἡ μὴ ταῦτα
πράξις, ἔστω φιλοσοφάτερον ἐπισκοπεῖν. δτι δὲ
ἡ τότε σωτηρία τοῖς "Ελλησι ἐκ τῆς θαλάσσης
ὑπῆρξε καὶ τὴν Ἀθηναίων πόλιν αὐθις ἀνέστησαν 10
αἱ τριήρεις ἐκεῖναι, τά τ' ἄλλα καὶ Ξέρξης αὐτὸς
5 ἐμαρτύρησε. Τῆς γὰρ πεζικῆς δυνάμεως ἀθραύστου
διαμενούσης ἔφυγε μετὰ τὴν τῶν νεῶν ἡτταν, ώς
οὐκ ὁν ἀξιόμαχος, καὶ Μαρδόνιον ἐμποδὼν εἶναι
τοῖς "Ελλησι τῆς διώξεως μᾶλλον ἡ δουλωσόμενον 15
αὐτούς, ώς ἐμοὶ δοκεῖ, κατέλυπεν.

V Σύντονον δὲ αὐτὸν γεγονέναι χρηματιστὴν οἱ
 General cha-
 racteristics of
 Themistokles. μέν τινές φασι δι' ἐλευθεριότητα· καὶ γὰρ
 φιλοθύτην δυτα καὶ λαμπρὸν ἐν ταῖς περὶ
 τοὺς ξένους δαπάναις ἀφθόνου δεῖσθαι χορηγίας 20
 οἱ δὲ τούναντίον γλισχρότητα πολλὴν καὶ μικρο-
 λογίαν κατηγοροῦσιν, ώς καὶ τὰ πεμπόμενα τῶν
 ἐδωδίμων πωλοῦντος. ἐπεὶ δὲ Φιλίδης ὁ ἵππο-
 τρόφος αἰτηθεὶς ὑπ' αὐτοῦ πωλου οὐκ ἔδωκεν,
 ἥπειλησε τὴν οἰκίαν αὐτοῦ ταχὺ ποιῆσεν δούρειον 25
 ἵππον, αἰνιξάμενος ἐγκλήματα συγγενικὰ καὶ δίκας
 2 τῷ ἀνθρώπῳ πρὸς οἰκείους τινὰς ταράξειν. Τῇ δὲ
 φιλοτιμίᾳ πάντας ὑπερέβαλεν, ὡστ' ἔτι μὲν νέος
 ὧν καὶ ἀφανῆς Ἐπικλέα τὸν ἐξ Ἐρμιόνης κιθα-
 ριστὴν σπουδαζόμενον ὑπὸ τῶν Ἀθηναίων ἐκ- 30.

λιπαρῆσαι μελετᾶν παρ' αὐτῷ, φιλοτιμούμενος πολλοὺς τὴν οἰκίαν ζητεῖν καὶ φοιτᾶν πρὸς αὐτόν. εἰς δὲ Ὀλυμπίαν ἐλθὼν καὶ διαμιλλώμενος τῷ Κλεωνὶ περὶ δεῖπνα καὶ σκηνὰς καὶ τὴν διληνὸν λαμπρότητα καὶ παρασκευήν, οὐκ ἥρεσκε τοῖς "Ελλησιν. Ἐκείνῳ μὲν γάρ ὅντι νέφ καὶ ἀπ' οἰκίας 3 μεγάλης φόντο δεῖν τὰ τοιαῦτα συγχωρεῖν· ὁ δὲ μήπω γνώριμος γεγονὼς, ἀλλὰ δοκῶν ἐξ οὐχ ὑπαρχόντων καὶ παρ' ἄξιαν ἐπαίρεσθαι προστοιο φιλίσκανεν ἀλλαζονείαν. ἐνίκησε δὲ καὶ χορηγῶν τραγῳδοῖς, μεγάλην ἥδη τότε σπουδὴν καὶ φιλοτιμίαν τοῦ ἀγῶνος ἔχοντος, καὶ πίνακα τῆς νίκης ἀνέθηκε τοιαύτην ἐπιγραφὴν ἔχοντα 'Θεμιστοκλῆς Φρεάρριος ἔχορήγει, Φρύνιχος ἐδίδασκεν,
15 'Αδείμαντος ἥρχε.' Οὐ μὴν ἀλλὰ τοῖς πολλοῖς 4 ἐνήρμοττε, τοῦτο μὲν ἐκάστου τῶν πολιτῶν τοῦνομα λέγων ἀπὸ στόματος, τοῦτο δὲ κριτὴν ἀσφαλῆ περὶ τὰ συμβόλαια παρέχων ἑαυτόν· ὡς που καὶ πρὸς Σιμωνίδην τὸν Κεῖνον εἴπειν αἰτούμενόν τι
20 τῶν οὐ μετρίων παρ' αὐτοῦ στρατηγοῦντος, ὡς οὗτ' ἐκεῖνος ἀν γένοιτο ποιητὴς ἀγαθὸς ἄδων παρὰ μέλος, οὗτ' αὐτὸς ἀστεῖος ἄρχων παρὰ νόμου χαριζόμενος. πάλιν δέ ποτε τὸν Σιμωνίδην ἐπισκώπτων ἔλεγε νοῦν οὐκ ἔχειν, Κορινθίους μὲν
25 λοιδοροῦντα μεγάλην οἰκοῦντας πόλιν, αὐτοῦ δὲ ποιούμενον εἰκόνας οὕτως ὅντος αἰσχροῦ τὴν ὄψιν. αὐξόμενος δὲ καὶ τοῖς πολλοῖς ἀρέσκων τέλος κατεστασίασε καὶ μετέστησεν ἔξοστρακισθέντα τὸν Ἀριστελῆν.

30 "Ηδη δὲ τοῦ Μήδου καταβαίνοντος ἐπὶ τὴν VII

Ελλάδα καὶ τῶν Ἀθηναίων βουλευομένων περὶ στρατηγοῦ τοὺς μὲν ἄλλους ἐκόντας ἐκστῆναι τῆς στρατηγίας λέγουσιν ἐκπεπληγμένους τὸν κλύδυνον· Ἐπικύδην δὲ τὸν Εὐφημίδου, δημαγωγὸν δύτα δεινὸν μὲν εἰπεῖν, 5 μαλακὸν δὲ τῇ ψυχῇ καὶ χρημάτων ἥττονα, τῆς ἀρχῆς ἐφίεσθαι καὶ κρατήσειν ἐπίδοξον εἶναι τῇ χειροτονίᾳ. τὸν οὖν Θεμιστοκλέα δείσαντα, μὴ τὰ πράγματα διαφθαρείη παντάπασι τῆς ἡγεμονίας εἰς ἑκεῖνον ἐμπεσούσης, χρήμασι τὴν φιλοτι- 10 2 μίαν ἔξωνήσασθαι παρὰ τοῦ Ἐπικύδους. Ἐπαινεῖται δ' αὐτοῦ καὶ τὸ περὶ τὸν δύγλωττον ἔργου ἐν τοῖς πεμφθεῖσιν ὑπὸ βασιλέως ἐπὶ γῆς καὶ ὕδατος αἴτησιν. ἔρμηνέα γάρ δύτα συλλαβὼν διὰ ψηφίσματος ἀπέκτεινεν, ὅτι φωνὴν Ἐλληνίδα βαρ- 15 βάροις προστάγμασιν ἐτόλμησε χρῆσαι. ἔτι δὲ καὶ τὸ περὶ Ἀρθμιον τὸν Ζελείτην· Θεμιστοκλέους γάρ εἰπόντος καὶ τοῦτον εἰς τοὺς ἀτίμους καὶ παῖδας αὐτοῦ καὶ γένος ἐνέγραψαν, ὅτι τὸν ἐκ Μήδων χρυσὸν εἴς τοὺς Ἐλληνας ἐκόμισε. μέ- 20 γιστον δὲ πάντων τὸ καταλῦσαι τοὺς Ἐλληνικοὺς πολέμους καὶ διαλλάξαι τὰς πόλεις ἀλλήλαις πελσαντα τὰς ἔχθρας διὰ τὸν πόλεμον ἀναβαλλέσθαι· πρὸς δὲ καὶ Χελεων τὸν Ἀρκάδα μάλιστα συναγωνίσασθαι λέγουσι.

VII Παραλαβὼν δὲ τὴν ἀρχὴν εὐθὺς μὲν ἐπεχείρει τοὺς πολίτας ἐμβιβάζειν εἰς τὰς τριήρεις, 25
The Greek fleet at Artemisium. καὶ τὴν πόλιν ἐπειθεν ἐκλιπόντας ὡς προσωπάτω τῆς Ἐλλάδος ἀπαντᾶν τῷ παρθάρῳ κατὰ θάλατταν. ἐνισταμένων δὲ πολ-

λῶν ἔξηγαγε πολλὴν στρατιὰν εἰς τὰ Τέμπη μετὰ
Λακεδαιμονίων, ὡς αὐτόθι προκινησύνητων τῆς
Θετταλίας οὕπω τότε μηδίζειν δοκούσης. ἐπεὶ
δὲ ἀνεχώρησαν ἐκεῖθεν ἄπρακτοι καὶ Θετταλῶν
5 βασιλεῖ προσγενομένων ἐμῆδιζε τὰ μέχρι Βοιωτίας,
μᾶλλον ἡδη τῷ Θεμιστοκλεῖ προσείχον οἱ Ἀθη-
ναῖοι περὶ τῆς θαλάσσης καὶ πέμπεται μετὰ νεῶν
ἐπ' Ἀρτεμίσιον τὰ στενὰ φυλάξων. "Εὐθα δὲ 2
τῶν μὲν Ἑλλήνων Εύρυβιάδην καὶ Λακεδαιμονίους
10 ἥργεινθαι κελευόντων, τῶν δὲ Ἀθηναίων, ὅτι πλήθει
τῶν νεῶν σύμπαντας ὁμοῦ τι τοὺς ἄλλους ὑπερέ-
βαλλον, οὐκ ἀξιούντων ἔτέροις ἐπεσθαι, συνιδὼν
τὸν κίνδινον ὁ Θεμιστοκλῆς αὐτός τε τὴν ἀρχὴν
τῷ Εύρυβιάδῃ παρῆκε καὶ κατεπράῦνε τοὺς Ἀθη-
15 ναίους ὑπισχνούμενος, ἀν ἀνδρες ἀγαθοὶ γένουνται
πρὸς τὸν πόλεμον, ἐκόντας αὐτοῖς παρέξειν εἰς τὰ
λοιπὰ πειθομένους τοὺς Ἑλληνας. Διὸ καὶ δοκεῖ
τῆς σωτηρίας αἰτιώτατος γενέσθαι τῇ Ἑλλάδι καὶ
μάλιστα τοὺς Ἀθηναίους προαγαγεῖν εἰς δόξαν, ὡς
20 ἀνδρείᾳ μὲν τῶν πολεμίων, εὐγνωμοσίνῃ δὲ τῶν
συμμάχων περιγενομένους. Ἐπεὶ δὲ ταῦς
25 Ἀφεταῖς τοῦ βαρβαρικοῦ στόλου προσ-
μίξαντος ἐκπλαγεὶς ὁ Εύρυβιάδης τῶν
κατὰ στόμα νεῶν τὸ πλήθος, ἀλλας δὲ
πυνθανόμενος διακοσίας ὑπὲρ Σκιάθου
περιπλεῦν, ἐβούλετο τὴν ταχίστην εἴσω
τῆς Ἑλλάδος κομισθεὶς ἄψασθαι Πελοποννήσου
καὶ τὸν πεζὸν στρατὸν ταῖς ναυσὶ προσπειβα-
λέσθαι, παντάπασιν ἀπρόσμαχον ἥργούμενος τὴν
30 κατὰ θαλατταν ἀλκὴν βασιλέως, δείσαντες οἱ

3
Alarm
among the
fleet. The
mistakes
determine
them to stay
and fight at
the urgent
instance of
the Eubo-
ans.

ἐστι τὸ γὰρ Φλυῆσι τελεστήριον, ὅπερ ἦν Λυκομιδῶν κοινόν, ἐμπρησθὲν ὑπὸ τῶν βαρβάρων αὐτὸς ἐπεσκεύασε καὶ γραφαῖς ἐκόσμησεν, ὡς Σιμωνίδης ἴστόρηκεν.

- II "Ετι δὲ παῖς ὁν ὁμολογεῖται φορᾶς μεστὸς εἶναι ⁵
 καὶ τῇ μὲν φύσει συνετός, τῇ δὲ προαι-
His boyhood. ρέσει μεγαλοπράγμων καὶ πολιτικός. ἐν
 γὰρ ταῖς ἀνέσεσι καὶ σχολαῖς ἀπὸ τῶν μαθημάτων
 γινόμενος οὐκ ἔπαιξεν οὐδὲ ἔρρᾳθύμει καθάπερ οἱ
 λοιποὶ παιδες, ἀλλ' εὐρίσκετο λόγους τινὰς μελε-
 τῶν καὶ συνταττόμενος πρὸς ἑαυτόν. ἦσαν δὲ οἱ
 λόγοι κατηγορία τινὸς ἡ συνηγορία τῶν παιδῶν.
 2 "Οθεν εἰώθει λέγειν πρὸς αὐτὸν ὁ διδάσκαλος ὡς
 'οὐδὲν ἔσῃ, παῖ, σὺ μικρόν, ἀλλὰ μέγα πάντως
 ἀγαθὸν ἡ κακόν.' ἐπεὶ καὶ τῶν παιδεύσεων τὰς ¹⁵
 μὲν ἡθοποιοὺς ἡ πρὸς ἡδονήν τινα καὶ χάριν ἐλευ-
 θέριον σπουδαζομένας ὀκνηρῶς καὶ ἀπροθύμως
 ἔξεμάνθανε τῶν δὲ εἰς σύνεσιν ἡ πρᾶξιν λεγομέ-
 νων δῆλος ἦν ὑπερορῶν παρ' ἡλικίαν, ὡς τῇ φύσει
 3 πιστεύων. "Οθεν ὕστερον ἐν ταῖς ἐλευθερίοις καὶ ²⁰
 ἀστελαῖς λεγομέναις διατριβᾶς ὑπὸ τῶν πε-
 παιδεύσθαι δοκούντων χλευαζόμενος ἤναγκάζετο
 φορτικώτερον ἀμύνεσθαι, λέγων δὲ λύραν μὲν
 ἄρμόσασθαι καὶ μεταχειρίσασθαι ψαλτήριον οὐκ
 ἐπίσταιτο, πόλιν δὲ μικρὰν καὶ ἄδοξον παραλα-
 βῶν ἔνδοξον καὶ μεγάλην ἀπεργάσασθαι. καίτοι
 Στησίμβροτος Ἀναξαγόρου τε διακοῦσαι τὸν Θε-
 μιστοκλέα φησὶ καὶ περὶ Μέλισσον σπουδάσαι
 τὸν φυσικόν, οὐκ εὐ τῶν χρόνων ἀπτόμενος. Περι-
 γάρ, δι πολὺ νεώτερος ἦν Θεμιστοκλέους, ²⁵ 30

Μέλισσος μὲν ἀντεστρατήγει πολιορκοῦντι Σαμίοις, Ἀναξαγόρας δὲ συνδιέτριβε. Μᾶλλον οὖν 4 ἂν τις προσέχοι τοῖς Μνησιφίλου τὸν Θεμιστοκλέα τοῦ Φρεαρρίου ζηλωτὴν γενέσθαι λέγουσιν, οὕτε 5 ρήτορος ὅντος οὕτε τῶν φυσικῶν κληθέντων φιλοσόφων, ἀλλὰ τὴν τότε καλουμένην σοφίαν, οὓσαν δὲ δεινότητα πολιτικὴν καὶ δραστήριον σύνεσιν, ἐπιτήδευμα πεποιημένου καὶ διασώζοντος ὥσπερ αἴρεσιν ἐκ διαδοχῆς ἀπὸ Σόλωνος· ἦν οἱ μετὰ 10 ταῦτα δικανικαῖς μίξαντες τέχναις καὶ μεταγαγόντες ἀπὸ τῶν πράξεων τὴν ἀσκησιν ἐπὶ τοὺς λόγους σοφισταὶ προσηγορεύθησαν. Τούτῳ μὲν οὖν ἡδη 5 πολιτευόμενος ἐπλησταξεν. ἐν δὲ ταῖς πρώταις τῆς νεότητος ὄρμαῖς ἀνώμαλος ἦν καὶ ἀστάθμητος, 15 ἀτε τῇ φύσει καθ' αὐτὴν χρώμενος ἄνευ λόγου καὶ παιδείας ἐπ' ἀμφότερα μεγάλας ποιουμένη μεταβολὰς τῶν ἐπιτηδευμάτων καὶ πολλάκις ἔξι- σταμένη πρὸς τὸ χεῖρον, ὡς ὑστερον αὐτὸς ὠμολόγει καὶ τοὺς τραχυτάτους πώλους ἀρίστους 20 ἵππους γίνεσθαι φάσκων, ὅταν ἡς προσήκει τύχωσι παιδείας καὶ καταρτύσεως. ⁶Α δὲ τούτων ἔξαρ- 6 τῶσιν ἕνιοι διηγήματα πλάττοντες, ἀποκήρυξιν μὲν ὑπὸ τοῦ πατρὸς αὐτοῦ, θάνατον δὲ τῆς μητρὸς ἔκούσιον ἐπὶ τῇ τοῦ παιδὸς ἀτιμίᾳ περιιλύπου γενο- 25 μένης, δοκεῖ κατεψεύσθαι· καὶ τούναντίον εἰσὶν οἱ λέγοντες, ὅτι τὰ κοινὰ πράττειν ἀποτρέπων αὐτὸν ὁ πατὴρ ἐπεδείκνυε πρὸς τὴν θαλάττη τὰς παλαιὰς τριήρεις ἐρριμμένας καὶ παρορωμένας, ὡς δὴ καὶ πρὸς τοὺς δημαγωγούς, ὅταν ἄχρηστοι φαίνωνται. 30 τῶν πολλῶν ὄμοιώς ἔχόντων.

III Ταχὺ μέντοι καὶ νεανικῶς ἕοικεν ἄψασθαι τοῦ

His first appearance in public life. Intense rivalry between him and Aristeides.

Θεμιστοκλέους τὰ πολιτικὰ πράγματα καὶ σφόδρα ἡ πρὸς δόξαν ὄρμὴ κρατῆσαι, δι’ ἣν εὐθὺς ἐξ ἀρχῆς τοῦ πρωτεύειν ἐφίέμενος ἵταμῶς ὑφίστατο τὰς πρὸς 5 τοῦς δυναμένους ἐν τῇ πόλει καὶ πρωτεύοντας ἀπεχθείας, μάλιστα δὲ Ἀριστείδην τὸν Λυσιμάχου, τὴν ἐναντίαν ἀεὶ πορευόμενον αὐτῷ. καίτοι δοκεῖ παντάπασιν ἡ πρὸς τούτον ἔχθρα 2 μειρακιώδη λαβεῖν ἀρχήν. Ἡράσθησαν γὰρ 10 ἀμφότεροι τοῦ καλοῦ Στησίλεω, Κείου τὸ γένος ὄντος, ὡς Ἀρίστων ὁ φιλόσοφος ἴστόρηκεν ἐκ δὲ τούτου διετέλουν καὶ περὶ τὰ δημόσια στασιάζοντες. οὐ μὴν ἀλλ’ ἡ τῶν βίων καὶ τῶν τρόπων ἀνομοιότης ἕοικεν αὐξῆσαι τὴν διαφοράν. 15 πρᾶος γάρ ὃν φύσει καὶ καλοκαγαθικὸς τὸν τρόπον ὁ Ἀριστείδης καὶ πολιτευόμενος οὐ πρὸς χάριν οὐδὲ πρὸς δόξαν, ἀλλ’ ἀπὸ τοῦ βελτίστου μετὰ ἀσφαλείας καὶ δικαιοσύνης, ἡναγκάζετο τῷ Θεμιστοκλεῖ τὸν δῆμον ἐπὶ πολλὰ κινοῦντι καὶ 20 μεγάλας ἐπιφέροντι καινοτομίας ἐναντιοῦσθαι πολ- 3 λάκις ἐνιστάμενος αὐτοῦ πρὸς τὴν αὔξησιν. Λέγεται γὰρ οὕτω παράφορος πρὸς δόξαν εἶναι καὶ πράξεων μεγάλων ὑπὸ φιλοτιμίας ἔραστής, ὥστε νέος ὃν ἔτι τῆς ἐν Μαραθῶνι μάχης πρὸς τοὺς 25 βαρβάρους γενομένης καὶ τῆς Μιλτιάδου στρατηγίας διαβοηθείσης σύννοις ὀρᾶσθαι τὰ πολλὰ πρὸς ἑαυτῷ καὶ τὰς υύκτας ἀγρυπνεῦν καὶ τοὺς πότους παραιτεῖσθαι τοὺς συνήθεις καὶ λέγειν πρὸς τοὺς ἔρωτῶντας καὶ θαυμάζοντας τὴν περὶ τὸν βίον 30

μεταβολήν, ώς καθεύδειν αὐτὸν οὐκ ἐάη τὸ τοῦ Μιλτιάδου τρόπαιον. Οἱ μὲν γὰρ ἄλλοι πέρας 4 φῶντο τοῦ πολέμου τὴν ἐν Μαραθῶνι τῶν βαρβάρων ἡτταν εἶναι, Θεμιστοκλῆς δὲ ἀρχὴν μειζόνων 5 ἀγώνων, ἐφ' οὓς ἑαυτὸν ὑπέρ τῆς ὅλης 'Ελλάδος ἥλειφε καὶ τὴν πόλιν ἥσκει, πόρρωθεν ἔτι προσδοκῶν τὸ μέλλον.

Καὶ πρῶτον μὲν τὴν Λαιρεωτικὴν πρόσοδον IV ἀπὸ τῶν ἀργυρείων μετάλλων ἔθος ἔχόν-
10 τον Ἀθηναίων διανέμεσθαι, μόνος εἰπεῖν ἔτολμησε παρελθὼν εἰς τὸν δῆμον, ώς
χρὴ τὴν διανομὴν ἔσαντας ἐκ τῶν χρη-
μάτων τούτων κατασκευάσασθαι τριήρεις
ἐπὶ τὸν πρὸς Αἴγυνθας πόλεμον. ἦκ-
15 μαζε γὰρ οὗτος ἐν τῇ 'Ελλάδι μάλιστα,
καὶ κατέχον οἱ νησιῶται πλήθει νεῶν
τὴν θάλασσαν. Ἡι καὶ ῥάον Θεμιστο-
κλῆς συνέπεισεν, οὐ Δαρεῖον οὐδὲ Πέρσας (μακρὰν
γὰρ ἥσαν οὗτοι καὶ δέος οὐ πάνυ βέβαιον ώς ἀφι-
20 ἔβιενοι παρεῖχον) ἐπισείων, ἀλλὰ τῇ πρὸς Αἴγυ-
νητας ὁργῇ καὶ φιλονεικίᾳ τῶν πολιτῶν ἀποχρη-
σάμενος εὐκαίρως ἐπὶ τὴν παρασκευὴν. ἐκατὸν γὰρ
ἀπὸ τῶν χρημάτων ἐκείνων ἐποιήθησαν τριήρεις,
αδ καὶ πρὸς Ξέρξην ἐναυμάχησαν. Ἐκ δὲ τούτου 3
25 κατὰ μικρὸν ὑπάγων καὶ καταβιβάζων τὴν πόλιν
πρὸς τὴν θάλασσαν, ώς τὰ πεζὰ μὲν οὐδὲ τοὺς
όμοροις ἀξιομάχους ὄντας, τῇ δ' ἀπὸ τῶν νεῶν
ἀλκῇ καὶ τοὺς βαρβάρους ἀμύνασθαι καὶ τῆς
'Ελλάδος ἄρχειν δυναμένους, ἀντὶ μονίμων ὄπλι-
30 τῶν, ώς φησιν ὁ Πλάτων, ναυβάτας καὶ θαλαττίους

Fore-thought
of Themis-
tokles. He
urges con-
version of
Athens from
a land power
into a naval
power, and
application
of the fund
from the
mines of
Laurium to
the war
against the
Aeginetans.

έποιήσε, καὶ διαβολὴν καθ' αὐτοῦ παρέσχεν, ὡς
ἄρα Θεμιστοκλῆς τὸ δόρυ καὶ τὴν ἀσπίδα τῶν
πολιτῶν παρελόμενος εἰς ὑπηρέσιον καὶ κώπην
4 συνέστειλε τὸν Ἀθηναίων δῆμον. "Επράξε δὲ ταῦ-
τα Μιλτιάδου κρατήσας ἀντιλέγοντος, ὡς ἴστορεῖ 5
Στησίμβροτος. εἰ μὲν δὴ τὴν ἀκρίβειαν καὶ τὸ
καθαρὸν τοῦ πολιτεύματος ἔβλαψεν ἢ μὴ ταῦτα
πράξας, ἔστω φιλοσοφώτερον ἐπισκοπεῖν. ὅτι δὲ
ἡ τότε σωτηρία τοῖς "Ελλησιν ἐκ τῆς θαλάσσης
ὑπῆρξε καὶ τὴν Ἀθηναίων πόλιν αὐθις ἀνέστησαν 10
αἱ τριήρεις ἐκέναι, τά τ' ἄλλα καὶ Ξέρξης αὐτὸς
5 ἐμαρτύρησε. Τῆς γὰρ πεζικῆς δυνάμεως ἀθραύστου
διαμενούσης ἔφυγε μετὰ τὴν τῶν νεῶν ἥτταν, ὡς
οὐκ ὁν ἀξιόμαχος, καὶ Μαρδόνιον ἐμποδὼν εἶναι
τοῖς "Ελλησι τῆς διώξεως μᾶλλον ἢ δουλωσόμενον 15
αὐτούς, ὡς ἐμοὶ δοκεῖ, κατέλιπεν.

V Σύντονον δὲ αὐτὸν γεγονέναι χρηματιστὴν οἱ
 General cha-
 racteristics of
 Themistokles. μέν τινές φασι δι' ἐλευθεριότητα· καὶ γὰρ
 φιλοθύτην δύτα καὶ λαμπρὸν ἐν ταῖς περὶ
 τοὺς ξένους δαπάναις ἀφθόνου δεῖσθαι χορηγίας.²⁰
 οἱ δὲ τούναντίον γλισχρότητα πολλὴν καὶ μικρο-
 λογίαν κατηγοροῦσιν, ὡς καὶ τὰ πεμπόμενα τῶν
 ἐδωδίμων πωλοῦντος. ἐπεὶ δὲ Φιλίδης ὁ ἵππο-
 τρόφος αἰτηθεὶς ὑπ' αὐτοῦ πωλον οὐκ ἔδωκεν,
 ἥπειλησε τὴν οἰκίαν αὐτοῦ ταχὺ ποιήσειν δούρειον 25
 ἵππον, αἰνιξάμενος ἐγκλήματα συγγενικὰ καὶ δίκας
 2 τῷ ἀνθρώπῳ πρὸς οἰκείους τινάς ταράξειν. Τῇ δὲ
 φιλοτιμίᾳ πάντας ὑπερέβαλεν, ὥστ' ἔτι μὲν νέος
 ὁν καὶ ἀφανῆς Ἐπικλέα τὸν ἔξ "Ερμιόνης κιθα-
 ριστὴν σπουδαζόμενον ὑπὸ τῶν Ἀθηναίων ἐκ- 30.

λιπαρῆσαι μελετᾶν παρ' αὐτῷ, φιλοτιμούμενος πολλοὺς τὴν οἰκίαν ζητεῖν καὶ φοιτᾶν πρὸς αὐτόν. εἰς δὲ Ὀλυμπίαν ἐλθὼν καὶ διαμιλλώμενος τῷ Κλεμονὶ περὶ δεῖπνα καὶ σκηνὰς καὶ τὴν διλην
 5 λαμπρότητα καὶ παρασκευήν, οὐκ ἥρεσκε τοῖς "Ἐλλησιν. Ἐκείνῳ μὲν γάρ δοῦτι νέφ καὶ ἀπ' οἰκίας 3 μεγάλης φοντο δεῖν τὰ τοιαῦτα συγχωρεῖν ὁ δὲ μήπω γνώριμος γεγονώς, ἀλλὰ δοκῶν ἐξ οὐχ ὑπαρχόντων καὶ παρ' αὖταν ἐπαίρεσθαι προσ-
 10 οφλίσκανεν ἀλαζονείαν. ἐνίκησε δὲ καὶ χορηγῶν τραγῳδοῖς, μεγάλην ἥδη τότε σπουδὴν καὶ φιλο-
 τιμίαν τοῦ ἀγῶνος ἔχοντος, καὶ πίνακα τῆς οὐκῆς
 ἀνέθηκε τοιαύτην ἐπιγραφὴν ἔχοντα 'Θεμιστο-
 κλῆς Φρεάρριος ἀχορήγει, Φρύνιχος ἐδίδασκεν,
 15 'Αδείμαντος ἥρχει.' Οὐ μὴν ἀλλὰ τοῖς πολλοῖς 4
 ἐνήρμοττε, τοῦτο μὲν ἐκάστου τῶν πολιτῶν τοῦνομα
 λέγων ἀπὸ στόματος, τοῦτο δὲ κριτὴν ἀσφαλῆ
 περὶ τὰ συμβόλαια παρέχων ἐαυτὸν ὡς που καὶ
 πρὸς Σιμωνίδην τὸν Κεῖων εἰπεῖν αἰτούμενόν τι
 20 τῶν οὐ μετρίων παρ' αὐτοῦ στρατηγοῦντος, ὡς
 οὗτ' ἐκεῖνος ἀν γένουτο ποιητῆς ἀγαθὸς ἄδων παρὰ
 μέλος, οὗτ' αὐτὸς ἀστεῖος ἄρχων παρὰ νόμου
 χαριζόμενος. πάλιν δέ ποτε τὸν Σιμωνίδην ἐπι-
 σκόπτων ἐλεγε νοῦν οὐκ ἔχειν, Κορινθίους μὲν
 25 λοιδοροῦντα μεγάλην οἰκοῦντας πόλιν, αὐτοῦ δὲ
 ποιούμενον εἰκόνας οὕτως διπλοὶ αἰσχροῦ τὴν ὅψιν.
 αὐξόμενος δὲ καὶ τοῖς πολλοῖς ἀρέσκων τέλος
 κατεστασίασε καὶ μετέστησεν ἐξοστρακισθέντα
 τὸν Ἀριστείδην.

30 "Ηδη δὲ τοῦ Μήδου καταβαίνοντος ἐπὶ τὴν VI

Ἐλλήνων Ἀθηναίους καὶ πόλιν ἐλευθέραν καὶ χώραν οὐ χείρονα κεκτημένους ἡς ἀπέβαλον.⁵ ταῦτα τοῦ Θεμιστοκλέους εἰπόντος ἔννοια καὶ δέος ἔσχε τὸν Εύρυβιάδην τῶν Ἀθηναίων, μὴ σφᾶς ἀπολιπόντες οἴχωνται. τοῦ δὲ Ἐρετριέως πειρω- μένου τι λέγειν πρὸς αὐτὸν “Η γὰρ” ἔφη ‘καὶ ὑμῖν περὶ πολέμου τίς ἔστι λόγος, οὐ καθύπερ αἱ τευθίδες μάχαιραν μὲν ἔχετε, καρδίαν δὲ οὐκ ἔχετε;’

XII Λέγεται δὲ ὑπό τινων τὸν μὲν Θεμιστοκλέα ιο
περὶ τούτων ἀπὸ τοῦ καταστρώματος
ἀνωθεν τῆς νεώς διαλέγεσθαι, γλαῦκα δ'
δόφθηναι διαπετομένην ἀπὸ δεξιᾶς τῶν
νεῶν καὶ τοῖς καρχησίοις ἐπικαθίζουσαν.¹⁵
διὸ δὴ καὶ μάλιστα προσέθεντο τῇ γυνώμῃ
καὶ παρεσκευάζοντο ναυμαχήσοντες. ἀλλ’ ἐπεὶ
τῶν πολεμίων ὁ τε στόλος τῇ Ἀττικῇ κατὰ τὸ
Φαληρικὸν προσφερόμενος τοὺς πέριξ ἀπέκρυψεν
αὐγιαλούς, αὐτὸς τε βασιλεὺς μετὰ τοῦ πεζοῦ
στρατοῦ καταβὰς ἐπὶ τὴν θάλατταν ἀθρούς ὥφθη,²⁵
τῶν δὲ δυνάμεων ὁμοῦ γενομένων ἔξερρύησαν οἱ
τοῦ Θεμιστοκλέους λόγοι τῶν Ἐλλήνων καὶ πάλιν
ἐπάπταινον οἱ Πελοποννήσιοι πρὸς τὸν Ἰσθμόν,
εἴ τις ἄλλο τι λέγοι χαλεπαίνοντες, ἐδόκει δὲ τῆς
νυκτὸς ἀποχωρεῦν καὶ παρηγέλλετο πλοῦς τοῦς
κυβερνήταις, ἔνθα δὴ βαρέως φέρων ὁ Θεμιστο-
κλῆς, εἰ τὴν ἀπὸ τοῦ τόπου καὶ τῶν στενῶν προέ-
μενοι βοήθειαν οἱ Ἐλληνες διαλυθήσονται κατὰ
πόλεις, ἐβουλεύετο καὶ συνετίθει τὴν περὶ τὸν
2 Σίκινον πραγματείαν. ³⁰ Ήν δὲ τῷ μὲν γένει Πέρ-

Desperate
stratagem of
Themistocles
to make the
Greeks fight
in the straits
of Salamis.

λιπαρῆσαι μελετᾶν παρ' αὐτῷ, φιλοτιμούμενος πολλοὺς τὴν οἰκίαν ζητεῖν καὶ φοιτᾶν πρὸς αὐτόν. εἰς δὲ Ὀλυμπίαν ἐλθὼν καὶ διαμιλλώμενος τῷ Κίμωνι περὶ δεῖπνα καὶ σκηνὰς καὶ τὴν δλλην λαμπρότητα καὶ παρασκευήν, οὐκ ἥρεσκε τοῖς "Ἐλλησιν. Ἐκείνῳ μὲν γάρ ὅντι νέφι καὶ ἀπ' οἰκίας 3 μεγάλης φῶντο δεῖν τὰ τοιαῦτα συγχωρεῖν· ὁ δὲ μήπω γνώριμος γεγονώς, ἀλλὰ δοκῶν ἐξ οὐχ ὑπαρχόντων καὶ παρ' ἄξιαν ἐπαίρεσθαι προσ-
10 οφθαλίσκανεν ἀλαζονείαν. ἐνίκησε δὲ καὶ χορηγῶν τραγῳδοῖς, μεγάλην ἥδη τότε σπουδὴν καὶ φιλοτιμίαν τοῦ ἀγῶνος ἔχοντος, καὶ πίνακα τῆς νίκης ἀνέθηκε τοιαύτην ἐπιγραφὴν ἔχοντα 'Θεμιστοκλῆς Φρεάρριος ἔχορήγει, Φρύνιχος ἐδίδασκεν,
15 'Αδείμαντος ἥρχεν.' Οὐ μὴν ἀλλὰ τοῖς πολλοῖς 4 ἐνήρμοττε, τοῦτο μὲν ἐκάστου τῶν πολιτῶν τοῦνομα λέγων ἀπὸ στόματος, τοῦτο δὲ κριτὴν ἀσφαλῆ περὶ τὰ συμβόλαια παρέχων ἔαυτόν ὡς που καὶ πρὸς Σιμωνίδην τὸν Κείον εἰπεῖν αἰτούμενόν τι
20 τῶν οὐ μετρίων παρ' αὐτοῦ στρατηγοῦντος, ὡς οὗτ' ἐκεῖνος ἀν γένοιτο ποιητῆς ἀγαθὸς ἄδων παρὰ μέλος, οὗτ' αὐτὸς ἀστεῖος ἄρχων παρὰ νόμου χαριζόμενος. πάλιν δέ ποτε τὸν Σιμωνίδην ἐπισκόπτων ἔλεγε νοῦν οὐκ ἔχειν, Κορινθίους μὲν
25 λοιδοροῦντα μεγάλην οἰκοῦντας πόλιν, αὐτοῦ δὲ ποιούμενον εἰκόνας οὕτως ὅντος αἰσχροῦ τὴν ὅψιν. αὐξόμενος δὲ καὶ τοῖς πολλοῖς ἀρέσκων τέλος κατεστασίασε καὶ μετέστησεν ἐξοστρακισθέντα τὸν Ἀριστείδην.

30 "Ηδη δὲ τοῦ Μήδου καταβαίνοντος ἐπὶ τὴν VI

ἐποίησε, καὶ διαβολὴν καθ' αὐτοῦ παρέσχεν, ὡς
ἄρα Θεμιστοκλῆς τὸ δόρυ καὶ τὴν ἀσπίδα τῶν
πολιτῶν παρελόμενος εἰς ὑπηρέσιον καὶ κώπην
4 συνέστειλε τὸν Ἀθηναίων δῆμον. "Επραξε δὲ ταῦ-
τα Μιλτιάδου κρατήσας ἀντιλέγοντος, ὡς ἴστορει 5
Στησίμβροτος. εὶ μὲν δὴ τὴν ἀκρίβειαν καὶ τὸ
καθαρὸν τοῦ πολιτεύματος ἔβλαψεν ἢ μὴ ταῦτα
πράξας, ἔστω φιλοσοφάτερον ἐπισκοπεῖν. ὅτι δὲ
ἡ τότε σωτηρία τοῖς "Ελλησιν ἐκ τῆς θαλάσσης
ὑπῆρξε καὶ τὴν Ἀθηναίων πόλιν αὐθις ἀνέστησαν 10
αἱ τριήρεις ἐκεῖναι, τά τ' ἄλλα καὶ Ξέρξης αὐτὸς
5 ἐμαρτύρησε. Τῆς γὰρ πεζικῆς δυνάμεως ἀθραύστου
διαμενούσης ἔφυγε μετὰ τὴν τῶν νεῶν ἥτταν, ὡς
οὐκ ὁν ἀξιόμαχος, καὶ Μαρδόνιον ἐμποδὼν ἐναι
τοῖς "Ελλησι τῆς διώξεως μᾶλλον ἢ δουλωσόμενον 15
αὐτούς, ὡς ἐμοὶ δοκεῖ, κατέλυπεν.

V Σύντονον δὲ αὐτὸν γεγονέναι χρηματιστὴν οἱ
General characteristics of Themistokles. μέν τινές φασι δι' ἐλευθεριότητα· καὶ γὰρ
φιλοθύτην δύτα καὶ λαμπρὸν ἐν ταῖς περὶ
τοὺς ξένους δαπάναις ἀφθόνου δεῖσθαι χορηγίας· 20
οἱ δὲ τούναντίον γλισχρότητα πολλὴν καὶ μικρο-
λογίαν κατηγοροῦσιν, ὡς καὶ τὰ πεμπόμενα τῶν
ἔδωδίμων πωλοῦντος. ἐπεὶ δὲ Φιλίδης ὁ ἵππο-
τρόφος αἰτηθεὶς ὑπ' αὐτοῦ πώλουν οὐκ ἔδωκεν,
ἥπειλησε τὴν οἰκίαν αὐτοῦ ταχὺ ποιήσειν δούρειον 25
ἴππον, αἰνιξάμενος ἐγκλήματα συγγενικὰ καὶ δίκας
2 τῷ ἀνθρώπῳ πρὸς οἰκείους τινὰς ταράξειν. Τῇ δὲ
φιλοτιμίᾳ πάντας ὑπερέβαλεν, ὥστ' ἔτι μὲν νέος
ῶν καὶ ἀφανῆς Ἐπικλέα τὸν ἐξ Ἐρμιόνης κιθα-
ριστὴν σπουδαζόμενον ὑπὸ τῶν Ἀθηναίων ἐκ- 30.

λιπαρῆσαι μελετᾶν παρ' αὐτῷ, φιλοτιμούμενος πολλοὺς τὴν οἰκίαν ζητεῖν καὶ φοιτᾶν πρὸς αὐτόν. εἰς δὲ Ὀλυμπίαν ἀλθῶν καὶ διαμιλλώμενος τῷ Κέλμωνι περὶ δεῖπνα καὶ σκηνὰς καὶ τὴν ἀλλην
 5 λαμπρότητα καὶ παρασκευήν, οὐκ ἥρεσκε τοῖς "Ἐλλησιν. Ἐκείνῳ μὲν γάρ ὅντι νέφιος καὶ ἀπὸ οἰκίας 3 μεγάλης φῶντο δεῖν τὰ τοιαῦτα συγχωρεῖν· ὁ δὲ μῆπω γνώριμος γεγονὼς, ἀλλὰ δοκῶν ἐξ οὐχ ὑπαρχόντων καὶ παρ' ἀξίαν ἐπαίρεσθαι προσ-
 10 ιο φιλίσκανεν ἀλαζονείαν. ἐνίκησε δὲ καὶ χορηγῶν τραγῳδοῖς, μεγάλην ἥδη τότε σπουδὴν καὶ φιλο-
 τιμίαν τοῦ ἀγῶνος ἔχοντος, καὶ πίνακα τῆς νίκης
 ἀνέθηκε τοιαύτην ἐπιγραφὴν ἔχοντα 'Θεμιστο-
 κλῆς Φρεάρριος ἔχορήγει, Φρύνιχος ἐδίδασκεν,
 15 'Ἀδείμαντος ἥρχεν.' Οὐ μὴν ἀλλὰ τοῖς πολλοῖς 4
 ἐνήρμοττε, τοῦτο μὲν ἐκάστου τῶν πολιτῶν τούνομα
 λέγων ἀπὸ στόματος, τοῦτο δὲ κριτὴν ἀσφαλῆ
 περὶ τὰ συμβόλαια παρέχων ἑαυτὸν ὡς που καὶ
 πρὸς Σιμωνίδην τὸν Κεῖον εἰπεῖν αἰτούμενόν τι
 20 τῶν οὐ μετρίων παρ' αὐτοῦ στρατηγοῦντος, ὃς
 οὗτ' ἐκεῖνος ἀν γένοιτο ποιητῆς ἀγαθὸς ἄδων παρὰ
 μέλος, οὕτ' αὐτὸς ἀστεῖος ἄρχων παρὰ νόμου
 χαριζόμενος. πάλιν δέ ποτε τὸν Σιμωνίδην ἐπι-
 σκώπτων ἔλεγε νοῦν οὐκ ἔχειν, Κορινθίους μὲν
 25 λοιδοροῦντα μεγάλην οἰκοῦντας πόλιν, αὐτοῦ δὲ
 ποιούμενον εἰκόνας οὔτως ὅντος αἰσχροῦ τὴν ὄψιν.
 αὐξόμενος δὲ καὶ τοῖς πολλοῖς ἀρέσκων τέλος
 κατεστασίασε καὶ μετέστησεν ἐξοστρακισθέντα
 τὸν Ἀριστείδην.

30 ⁷Ηδη δὲ τοῦ Μήδου καταβαίνοντος ἐπὶ τὴν VI

κεκρατηκότας ἀναπλεῖν εἰς τὸν Ἐλλήσποντον ἐπὶ 3 τὸ ζεῦγμα καὶ λίειν τὴν γέφυραν· Θεμιστοκλῆς δὲ κηδόμενος βασιλέως παραινεῖ σπεύδειν ἐπὶ τὴν ἑαυτοῦ θάλατταν καὶ περαιοῦσθαι, μέχρις αὐτὸς ἐμποιεῖ τινας διατριβὰς τοῖς συμμάχοις καὶ μελ- 5 λήσεις πρὸς τὴν δίωξιν. ταῦθ' ὁ βάρβαρος ἀκούσας καὶ γενόμενος περίφοβος διὰ τάχους ἐποιεῖτο τὴν ἀναχώρησιν. καὶ πεῖραν ἡ Θεμιστοκλέους καὶ Ἀριστείδου φρόνησις ἐν Μαρδονίῳ παρέσχεν, εἴγε πολλοστημορίῳ τῆς Εέρξου δυνάμεως δια- 10 γωνισάμενοι Πλαταιαῖσιν εἰς τὸν περὶ τῶν ὅλων κύνδυνον κατέστησαν.

XVII Πόλεων μὲν οὖν τὴν Αἰγινητῶν ἀριστεῦσαί φησιν Ἡρόδοτος, Θεμιστοκλεῖ δέ, καίπερ 15 Honours rendered to Themistokles. ἄκοντες ὑπὸ φθόνου, τὸ πρωτεῖον ἀπέδο-
σαν ἄπαντες. ἐπεὶ γὰρ ἀναχωρήσαντες εἰς τὸν Ἰσθμὸν ἀπὸ τοῦ βωμοῦ τὴν ψῆφον ἔφερον οἱ στρατηγοὶ, πρῶτον μὲν ἔκαστος ἑαυτὸν ἀπέ-
φαινεν ἀρετῇ, δεύτερον δὲ μεθ' ἑαυτὸν Θεμιστο-
2 κλέα. Λακεδαιμόνιοι δ' εἰς τὴν Σπάρτην αὐτὸν 20 καταγαγόντες Εύρυβιάδῃ μὲν ἀνδρέας, ἐκείνῳ δὲ σοφίας ἀριστεῖον ἔδοσαν θαλλοῦ στέφανον, καὶ τῶν κατὰ τὴν πόλιν ἀρμάτων τὸ πρωτεῦον ἔδω-
ρήσαντο καὶ τριακοσίους τῶν νέων πομποὺς ἄχρι τῶν ὄρων συνεξέπεμψαν. λέγεται δ' Ὁλυμπίων 25 τῶν ἐφεξῆς ἀγομένων καὶ παρελθόντος εἰς τὸ στάδιον τοῦ Θεμιστοκλέους, ἀμελήσαντας τῶν ἀγωνιστῶν τοὺς παρόντας ὅλην τὴν ἡμέραν ἐκεῖνον θεᾶσθαι καὶ τοῖς ξένοις ἐπιδεικνύειν ἄμα θαυμά-
ζοντας καὶ κροτοῦντας, ὥστε καὶ αὐτὸν ἡσθέντα 30

πρὸς τοὺς φίλους ὁμολογῆσαι τὸν καρπὸν ἀπέχειν
τῶν ὑπέρ τῆς Ἑλλάδος αὐτῷ πονηθέντων.

Καὶ γὰρ ἦν τῇ φύσει φιλοτιμότατος, εἰ δεῖ XV.
τεκμαίρεσθαι διὰ τῶν ἀπομνημονευομέ-
5 νων. αἱρεθεὶς γὰρ ναύαρχος ὑπὸ τῆς His ambition
shewn by
notable say-
inga. πόλεως οὐδὲν οὔτε τῶν ἴδιων οὔτε τῶν
κοινῶν κατὰ μέρος ἐχρημάτιζεν, ἀλλ’ ἐπανεβάλ-
λετο τὸ προσπῆπτον εἰς τὴν ἡμέραν ἐκείνην, καθ’
ἥν ἐκπλεῖν ἔμελλεν, ἵν’ ὁμοῦ πολλὰ πράττων
10 πράγματα καὶ παντοδαποῖς ἀνθρώποις ὄμιλῶν
μέγας εἶναι δοκῆ καὶ πλεῖστον δύνασθαι. τῶν
δὲ νεκρῶν τοὺς ἐκπεσόντας ἐπισκοπῶν παρὰ τὴν
θάλατταν, ὡς εἰδε περικειμένους ψέλια χρυσᾶ καὶ
στρεπτούς, αὐτὸς μὲν παρῆλθε, τῷ δ’ ἐπομένῳ
15 φίλῳ δεῖξας εἶπεν· ‘Ανελοῦ σαυτῷ· σὺ γὰρ οὐκ
εἶ Θεμιστοκλῆς.’ Πρὸς δέ τινα τῶν καλῶν γεγο- 2
νότων, Ἄντιφάτην, ὑπερήφανως αὐτῷ κεχρημένου
πρότερον, ὕστερον δὲ θεραπεύοντα διὰ τὴν δόξαν,
‘Ω μειράκιον’ εἶπεν ‘οὐκέ μέν, ἀμφότεροι δ’
20 ὁμοῦ νοῦν ἐσχήκαμεν.’ ἔλεγε δὲ τοὺς Ἀθηναίους
οὐ τιμᾶν αὐτὸν οὐδὲ θαυμάζειν, ἀλλ’ ὥσπερ πλα-
τάνῳ χειμαζομένους μὲν ὑποτρέχειν κινδυνεύον-
τας, εὐδίας δὲ περὶ αὐτὸς γενομένης τίλλειν καὶ
κολούειν. τοῦ δὲ Σεριφίου πρὸς αὐτὸν εἰπόντος,
25 ὡς οὐ δί’ αὐτὸν ἐσχηκε δόξαν, ἀλλὰ διὰ τὴν πόλιν
‘Ἀληθῆ λέγεις’ εἶπεν ‘ἀλλ’ οὐτ’ ἀν ἐγὼ Σερ-
φίος ὧν ἐγενόμην ἔνδοξος, οὔτε σὺ Ἀθηναῖος.’
‘Ἐτέρου δέ τινος τῶν στρατηγῶν, ὡς ἔδοξέ τι χρή- 3
σιμον διαπεπρᾶχθαι τῇ πόλει, θραυσμομένου πρὸς
30 τὸν Θεμιστοκλέα καὶ τὰς ἑαυτοῦ ταῖς ἐκείναις

πράξεσιν ἀντιπαραβάλλοντος, ἔφη τῇ ἑορτῇ τὴν
ὑστεραίαν ἐρίσαι, λέγουσαν ὡς ἐκείνη μὲν ἀσχο-
λιῶν τε μεστῆ καὶ κοπώδης ἐστίν, ἐν αὐτῇ δὲ
πάντες ἀπολαύοντι τῶν παρεσκευασμένων σχολά-
ζοντες· τὴν δὲ ἑορτὴν πρὸς ταῦτ' εἰπεῖν ‘Ἀληθῆ 5
λέγεις· ἀλλ’ ἐμοῦ μὴ γενομένης σὺ οὐκ ἀν ἥσθα·’
‘κάμοῦ τοίνυν’ ἔφη ‘τότε μὴ γενομένου, ποῦ δὲ
ἢ ἦτε νῦν ὑμεῖς;’ Τὸν δὲ οὐδὲν ἐντρυφῶντα τῇ μητρὶ¹
καὶ δὶ’ ἐκείνην αὐτῷ σκώπτων ἔλεγε πλεῦστον
τῶν ‘Ελλήνων δύνασθαι· τοῖς μὲν γὰρ “Ἐλλησιν 10
ἐπιτάττειν Ἀθηναίους, Ἀθηναῖοις δὲ αὐτόν, αὐτῷ
δὲ τὴν ἐκείνου μητέρα, τῇ μητρὶ δὲ ἐκεῖνου. Ἰδιος δέ
τις ἐν πᾶσι βουλόμενος εἴναι χωρίον μὲν πιπράσ-
κων ἐκέλευε κηρύγγει, ὅτι καὶ γείτονα χρηστὸν
ἔχει· τῶν δὲ μνωμένων αὐτοῦ τὴν θυγατέρα τὸν 15
ἐπιεικῆ τοῦ πλουσίου προκρίνας ἔφη ζητεῖν ἀνδρα
χρημάτων δεόμενον μᾶλλον ἢ χρήματα ἀνδρός.
ἐν μὲν οὖν τοῖς ἀποφθέγμασι τοιοῦτός τις ἦν.

XIX Γενόμενος δὲ ἀπὸ τῶν πράξεων ἐκείνων εὐθὺς

Themis-
tokles re-
builds the
city. His
stratagem to
procure for
the Athe-
nians the
opportunity
of fortifying
it.

ἐπεχείρει τὴν πόλιν ἀνοικοδομεῖν καὶ το
τειχίζειν, ὡς μὲν ἴστορεῖ Θεόπομπος,
χρήμασι πείσας μὴ ἐναντιωθῆναι τοὺς
ἔφόρους, ὡς δὲ οἱ πλεῦστοι, παρακρου-
σάμενος. ἢκε μὲν γὰρ εἰς Σπάρτην
δνομα πρεσβείας ἐπιγραψάμενος· ἐγκα- 25

λούντων δὲ τῶν Σπαρτιατῶν ὅτι τειχίζονται τὸ
ἄστυ, καὶ Πολυάρχου κατηγορούντος ἐπίτηδες ἐξ
Αἰγάλης ἀποσταλέντος, ἡρυεῦτο καὶ πέμπειν ἐκέ-
λευν εἰς Ἀθήνας τοὺς κατοφομένους, ἅμα μὲν
ἐμβάλλων τῷ τειχισμῷ χρόνον ἐκ τῆς διατριβῆς, 30

άμα δὲ βουλόμενος ἀντ' αὐτοῦ τοὺς πεμπομένους
ὑπάρχειν τοῖς Ἀθηναίοις. ὃ καὶ συνέβη·

γνόντες γὰρ οἱ Λακεδαιμόνιοι τὸ ἀληθὲς
οὐκ ἡδίκησαν αὐτὸν, ἀλλ' ἀδήλως χαλε-

Enlargement
and fortifica-
tion of the
harbour of
Peiraeus.

5 παίνοντες ἀπέπεμψαν. Ἐκ δὲ τούτου τὸν

2

Πειραιᾶ κατεσκεύαζε, τὴν τῶν λιμένων εὐφυῖαν
κατανοήσας καὶ τὴν πόλιν δῆμην ἀρμοττόμενος
πρὸς τὴν θάλατταν, καὶ τρόπον τινὰ τοῖς παλαι-
οῖς βασιλεῦσι τῶν Ἀθηναίων ἀντιπολιτευόμενος.

10 ἐκεῖνοι μὲν γάρ, ὡς λέγεται, πραγματευόμενοι
τοὺς πολίτας ἀποσπάσαι τῆς θαλάττης καὶ συνε-
θίσαι ζῆν μὴ πλέοντας, ἀλλὰ τὴν χώραν φυτεύον-
τας, τὸν περὶ τῆς Ἀθηνᾶς διέδοσαν λόγον, ὡς
ἐρίσαντα περὶ τῆς χώρας τὸν Ποσειδῶνα δελξασ-
15 τὴν μορίαν τοῦς δικασταῖς ἐνίκησε· Θεμιστοκλῆς δ' 3

οὐχ, ὥσπερ Ἀριστοφάνης ὁ κωμικός φησι, τῇ πό-
λει τὸν Πειραιᾶ προσέμαξεν, ἀλλὰ τὴν πόλιν
ἔξηψε τοῦ Πειραιῶς καὶ τὴν γῆν τῆς θαλάττης·

ζθεν καὶ τὸν δῆμον ηὔξησε κατὰ τῶν ἀρίστων καὶ
20 θράσους ἐνέπλησεν, εἰς ναύτας καὶ κελευστὰς καὶ
κυβερνήτας τῆς δυνάμεως ἀφικομένης. διὸ καὶ τὸ
βῆμα τὸ ἐν Πινυκὶ πεποιημένον ὥστ' ἀποβλέπειν
πρὸς τὴν θάλασσαν ὑστερὸν οἱ τριάκοντα πρὸς
τὴν χώραν ἀπέστρεψαν, οιόμενοι τὴν μὲν κατὰ
25 θάλατταν ἀρχὴν γένεσιν εἶναι δημοκρατίας, ὀλ-
γαρχίᾳ δ' ἡττον δυσχεραίνειν τοὺς γεωργοῦντας.

Θεμιστοκλῆς δὲ καὶ μεῖζόν τι περὶ τῆς ναυτι- XX
κῆς διενοήθη δυνάμεως. ἐπειλέγει δὲ τῶν Ἑλλήνων
στόλος ἀπηλλαγμένου Ξέρξου κατήρεν εἰς Πα-
30 γαστὰς καὶ διεχείμαζε, δημητριοῦν ἐν τοῖς Ἀθη-

Hellenic policy of Themistokles and further ambitious projects of his for the naval aggrandisement of Athens.

ναίοις ἔφη τινὰ πρᾶξιν ἔχειν ὡφέλιμον μὲν αὐτοῖς καὶ σωτήριον, ἀπόρρητον δὲ πρὸς τοὺς πολλούς. τῶν δὲ Ἀθηναίων Ἀριστεῖδη μόνῳ φράσαι κελευόντων, κανὸν ἐκεῖνος δοκιμάσῃ περάνειν, δὲ μὲν Θεμιστοκλῆς 5 ἔφρασε τῷ Ἀριστεῖδῃ τὸ νεώριον ἐμπρῆσαι διανοεῖσθαι τῶν Ἑλλήνων· δὲ Ἀριστεῖδης εἰς τὸν δῆμον προελθὼν ἔφη τῆς πράξεως, ἦν διανοεῖται πράττειν ὁ Θεμιστοκλῆς, μηδεμίαν εἶναι μήτε λυσιτελεστέραν μήτ' ἀδικωτέραν. οἱ μὲν οὖν Ἀθηναῖοι διὰ ταῦτα παύσασθαι 2 τῷ Θεμιστοκλεῖ προσέταξαν. Ἐν δὲ τοῖς Ἀμφικτυονικοῖς συνεδρίοις τῶν Λακεδαιμονίων εἰσηγουμένων, ὅπως ἀπείργωνται τῆς Ἀμφικτυονίας αἱ μὴ συμμαχήσασαι κατὰ τοῦ Μήδου πόλεις, φοβηθεὶς μὴ Θετταλοὺς καὶ Ἀργείους ἔτι δὲ Θηβαίους ἐκβαλόντες τοῦ συνεδρίου παντελῶς ἐπικρατήσωσι τῶν ψήφων καὶ γένηται τὸ δοκοῦν ἐκείνοις, συνεῖπε ταῦς πόλεσι καὶ μετέθηκε τὰς γυνώμας τῶν Πυλαγόρων, διδάξας ὡς τριάκοντα καὶ μία μόναι πόλεις εἰσὶν αἱ μετασχοῦσαι τοῦ πολέμου καὶ τούτων αἱ πλείους παντάπασι μικραὶ δεινὸν οὖν εἰ, τῆς ἄλλης Ἑλλάδος ἐκσπόνδους γενομένης, ἐπὶ ταῦς μεγίσταις δυσὶν ἢ τρισὶ πόλεσιν ἔσται τὸ συνέδριον. ἐκ τούτου μὲν οὖν 1 μάλιστα τοῖς Λακεδαιμονίοις προσέκρουσε· διὸ καὶ τὸν Κίμωνα προῆγον ταῦς τιμαῖς, ἀντίπαλον ἐν τῇ πολιτείᾳ τῷ Θεμιστοκλεῖ καθιστάντες.

XXI ¹Ἡν δὲ καὶ τοῖς συμμάχοις ἐπαχθῆς περιπλέων τε τὰς νήσους καὶ χρηματιζόμενος ἀπ' αὐτῶν· οἰα;

καὶ πρὸς Ἀνδρίους ἀργύριον αἰτοῦντά φησιν αὐτὸν
 Ἡρόδοτος εἰπεῖν τε καὶ ἀκοῦσαι. Δύο
 γὰρ ἦκειν ἔφη θεοὺς κομίζων, Πειθὼ
 καὶ Βλαν· οἱ δὲ ἔφασαν εἶναι καὶ παρ'
 5 αὐτοῖς θεοὺς μεγάλους δύο, Πενίαν καὶ
 Ἀπορίαν, ὑφ' ᾧν κωλύεσθαι δοῦναι χρή-
 ματα ἐκείνῳ. Τιμοκρέων δ' ὁ Ῥόδιος
 μελοποιὸς ἐν ἀσματι καθάπτεται πικρότερον τοῦ
 Θεμιστοκλέους, ὡς ἄλλους μὲν ἐπὶ χρήμασι φυγά-
 10 δας διαπραξαμένους κατελθεῖν, αὐτὸν δὲ ξένου δυτικά
 καὶ φίλου προεμένου δι' ἀργύριον. λέγει δ'
 οὕτως.

ἀλλ' εἰ τύγε Πανσανίαν ἥ καὶ τύγε Ξάνθιππον αἰνέεις
 [ἀντ.]

15 ἥ τύγε Λευτυχίδαν, ἐγὼ δὲ Ἀριστεῖδαν ἐπαινέω
 ἄνδρον ἵεραν ὅπερ Ἀθανᾶν
 ἐλθεῖν ἔνα λῶστον· ἐπεὶ Θεμιστοκλῆς ἤχθαρε Λατώ, στρ.
 ψεύσταν, ἄδικον, προδόταν, ὃς Τιμοκρέοντα ξεῖνον ἔοντα
 [ἐπ.]

20 ἀργυρίοισι κυβαλικοῦσι πεισθεῖσι σὺ κατάγαγ' εἰς πατρίδα
 'Ιάλυσον,
 λαβὼν δὲ τρί' ἀργυρίου τάλαντ' ἔβα πλέων εἰς ὄλεθρον,
 [ἀντ.]
 τοὺς μὲν κατάγων ἀδίκως, τοὺς δὲ ἐκδιώκων, τοὺς δὲ
 25 καίνων

ἀργυρίων ὑπύπλεως. Ἰσθμοῖ δὲ πανδόκευε γλοιῶς ψυχρὰ
 κρέα παρέχων·
 οἱ δὲ ἥσθιον κηρύχοντο μὴ ὕραν Θεμιστοκλέους γενέσθαι.

Πολὺ δὲ ἀσελγεστέρᾳ καὶ ἀναπεπταμένῃ μᾶλλον 3
 30 εἰς τὸν Θεμιστοκλέα κέχρηται βλασφημίᾳ μετὰ

Themis-
tokles levies
fines on the
insular and
other allies
of Athens.
Bitter lampoon
by the poet
Timocreon
of Rhodes.

2

τὴν φυγὴν αὐτοῦ καὶ τὴν εκαταδίκην ὁ Τιμοκρέων,
φίσμα ποιήσας οὐ ἔστιν ἀρχῆ.

Μοῦσα τοῦδε τοῦ μέλεος
κλέος ἀν' Ἑλλας τίθει,
ὡς ἐοικὸς καὶ δίκαιον.

5

λέγεται δὲ ἐπὶ μηδισμῷ φυγεῖν συγκαταψηφισα-
μένου τοῦ Θεμιστοκλέους. ὡς οὖν ὁ Θεμιστοκλῆς
αἰτίαν ἔσχε μηδίζειν, ταῦτ' ἐποίησεν εἰς αὐτόν.

Οὐκ ἄρα Τιμοκρέων μούνος
Μήδοισιν ἀρκιατόμει,
ἀλλ' ἐτί καλλοὶ δὴ πονηροί·
κούκ λγώ μόνα κόλουρις·
ἐντὶ καὶ ἄλλαι ἀλώτεκες.

10

XXII [“]Ηδη δὲ καὶ τῶν πολιτῶν διὰ τὸ φθονεῖν ήδέως
 Growing jealousy
of Themis-
tokles, with
suspicions of
his treason-
able inclina-
tion toward
the Persians.

τὰς διαβολὰς προσιεμένων ήναγκάζετο 15
λυπηρὸς εἶναι τῶν αὐτοῦ πράξεων πολ-
λάκις ἐν τῷ δήμῳ μνημονεύων, καὶ πρὸς
τοὺς δυσχεραίνοντας 'Τί κοπιάτε' εἰπεῖν
‘ὑπὸ τῶν αὐτῶν πολλάκις εὐ πάσχον-
τες;’ ηνίασε δὲ τοὺς πολλοὺς καὶ τὸ τῆς Ἀρτέ- 20
μίδος ἱερὸν εἰσάμενος, ἦν Ἀριστοβουλην μὲν προσ-
τρύόρευσεν, ὡς ἄριστα τῇ πόλει καὶ τοῖς Ἐλλησι
βουλευσάμενος, πλησίον δὲ τῆς οἰκίας κατεσκεύα-
σεν ἐν Μελίτῃ τὸ ιερόν, οὐ νῦν τὰ σώματα τῶν
θανατουμένων οἱ δήμιοι προβάλλουσι καὶ τὰ 25
ἱμάτια καὶ τοὺς βρόχους τῶν ἀπαγχομένων καὶ
2 καθαιρεθέντων ἐκφέρουσιν. Ἐκείτο δὲ καὶ τοῦ
Θεμιστοκλέους εἰκόνιον ἐν τῷ ναῷ τῆς Ἀριστο-
βουλῆς ἔτι καθ' ἥμᾶς· καὶ φαίνεται τις οὐ τὴν

ψυχήν μόνον, ἀλλὰ καὶ τὴν δψιν ἡρωϊκὸς γενόμενος. τὸν μὲν οὖν ἔξοστρακισμὸν ^{His ostracism.} ἐποιήσαντο κατ' αὐτοῦ κολούοντες τὸ ἀξίωμα καὶ τὴν ὑπεροχήν, ὥσπερ εἰώθεσαν ἐπὶ 5 πάντων οὓς φόντο τῇ δυνάμει βαρεῖς καὶ πρὸς ισότητα δημοκρατικὴν ἀσυμμέτρους εἶναι. κόλασις γάρ οὐκ ἦν ὁ ἔξοστρακισμός, ἀλλὰ παραμυθία φθόνου καὶ κουφισμὸς ἡδομένου τῷ ταπεινοῦν τοὺς ὑπερέχοντας καὶ τὴν δυσμένειαν εἰς ταύτην· 10 τὴν ἀτιμίαν ἀποπνέοντος.

'Ἐκπεσόντος δὲ τῆς πόλεως αὐτοῦ καὶ διατρί- XX
βούντος ἐν "Αργεί τὰ περὶ Παυσανίαν συμπεσόντα κατ' ἐκείνου παρέσχε τοῖς ἔχθροῖς ἀφορμάς. ὁ δὲ γραψάμενος 15 αὐτὸν προδοσίας Λεωβάτης ἦν ὁ 'Αλκμέωνος 'Αγυρλῆθεν, ἔμα συνεπαιτιωμένων τῶν Σπαρτιατῶν. 'Ο γὰρ Παυσανίας πράττων ἐκεῖνα δὴ τὰ περὶ τὴν προδοσίαν πρότερον μὲν ἀπεκρύπτετο τὸν Θεμιστοκλέα, 20 καίπερ ὅντα φίλον· ώς δ' εἰδεν ἐκπεπτωκότα τῆς πολιτείας καὶ φέροντα χαλεπῶς, ἐθάρσησεν ἐπὶ τὴν κοινωνίαν τῶν πραττομένων παρακαλεῖν, γράμματα τοῦ βασιλέως ἐπιδεικνύμενος αὐτῷ καὶ παρεξύνων ἐπὶ τοὺς "Ελληνας, ώς πονηροὺς καὶ ἀχαρίστους. ὁ δὲ τὴν μὲν δέησιν ἀπετρίψατο τοῦ Παυσανίου καὶ τὴν κοινωνίαν ὅλως ἀπείπατο, πρὸς οὐδένα δὲ τοὺς λόγους ἐξήνεγκεν οὐδὲ κατεμήνυσε 25 τὴν πρᾶξιν, εἴτε παύσεσθαι προσδοκῶν αὐτόν, εἴτ' ἄλλως καταφανῆ γενήσεσθαι σὺν οὐδενὶ λογισμῷ 30 πραγμάτων ἀτόπων καὶ παραβόλων ὀρεγόμενον.

While in
banishment,
the Lace-
daemonians
and others
prefer a
formal
charge of
treason
against him.

3 Οὗτω δὴ τοῦ Παυσανίου θανατωθέντος ἐπιστολαὶ τινες ἀνευρεθεῖσαι καὶ γράμματα περὶ τούτων εἰς ὑποψίαν ἐνέβαλον τὸν Θεμιστοκλέα· καὶ κατεβόων μὲν αὐτῷ Λακεδαιμόνιοι, κατηγόρουν δ' οἱ φθονοῦντες τῶν πολιτῶν, οὐ παρόντος ἀλλὰ διὰ 5 γραμμάτων ἀπολογουμένου μάλιστα ταῖς προτέραις κατηγορίαις· διαβαλλόμενος γάρ ὑπὸ τῶν ἔχθρῶν πρὸς τοὺς πολίτας, ὡς ἄρχειν μὲν ἀεὶ ζητῶν, ἄρχεσθαι δὲ μὴ πεφυκὼς μηδὲ βουλόμενος, οὐκ ἂν ποτε βαρβάροις αὐτὸν οὐδὲ πολεμίοις ἀπο- 10 δόσθαι μετὰ τῆς Ἑλλάδος. οὐ μὴν ἀλλὰ συμπεισθεὶς ὑπὸ τῶν κατηγορούντων ὁ δῆμος ἔπειμψεν ἄνδρας, οὓς εἴρητο συλλαμβάνειν καὶ ἀνάγειν αὐτὸν κριθησόμενον ἐν τοῖς Ἑλλησι.

XXIV Προαισθόμενος δὲ ἐκεῖνος εἰς Κέρκυραν διε- 15

Flight and
adventures of
Themis-
tokles.

πέρασεν, οὕσης αὐτῷ πρὸς τὴν πόλιν εὑεργεσίας. γενόμενος γάρ αὐτῶν κριτῆς πρὸς Κορινθίους ἔχόντων διαφοράν, ἔλυσε τὴν ἔχθραν εἴκοσι τάλαντα κρίνας τοὺς Κορινθίους καταβαλεῖν καὶ Δευκάδα κοινῇ νέμειν ἀμφοτέρων 20 -2 ἀποικον. Ἐκεῖθεν δὲ εἰς Ἡπειρον ἔφυγε· καὶ διωκόμενος ὑπὸ τῶν Ἀθηναίων καὶ τῶν Λακεδαιμονίων ἔρριψεν αὐτὸν εἰς ἐλπίδας χαλεπὰς καὶ ἀπόρους καταφυγὰν πρὸς Ἀδμητον, ὃς βασιλεὺς μὲν ἦν Μολοτῶν, δεηθεὶς δέ τι τῶν Ἀθηναίων 25 καὶ προπηλακισθεὶς ὑπὸ τοῦ Θεμιστοκλέους, δτ' ἥκμαζεν ἐν τῇ πολιτείᾳ, δι' ὄργῆς εἶχεν αὐτὸν ἀεὶ καὶ δῆλος ἦν, εἰ λάβοι, τιμωρησόμενος. ἐν δὲ τῇ τότε τύχῃ μᾶλλον ὁ Θεμιστοκλῆς φοβηθεὶς συγγενῆ καὶ πρόσφατον φθόνον ὄργῆς παλαιᾶς καὶ 30

βασιλικῆς, ταύτη φέρων ὑπέθηκεν ἔαυτόν, ἵκέτης τοῦ Ἀδμήτου καταστὰς ἰδιόν τινα καὶ παρηλλαγμένον τρόπον. ἔχων γάρ αὐτοῦ τὸν υἱὸν ὅντα παῖδα πρὸς τὴν ἐστίαν προσέπεσε, ταύτην μεγίστην καὶ μόνην σχεδὸν ἀναντίρρητον ἡγουμένων ἱκεσίαν τῶν Μολοσσῶν. Ἐνιοι μὲν οὖν Φθίαν 3 τὴν γυναῖκα τοῦ βασιλέως λέγουσιν ὑποθέσθαι τῷ Θεμιστοκλεῖ τὸ ἱκέτευμα τοῦτο καὶ τὸν υἱὸν ἐπὶ τὴν ἐστίαν καθίσαι μετ' αὐτοῦ· τινὲς δ' 10 αὐτὸν τὸν Ἀδμητον, ὡς ἀφοσιώσαιτο πρὸς τοὺς διώκοντας τὴν ἀνάγκην, δι' ἣν οὐκ ἐκδίδωσι τὸν ἄνδρα, διαθεῖναι καὶ συντραγφόδησαι τὴν ἱκεσίαν. ἐκεῖ δ' αὐτῷ τὴν γυναῖκα καὶ τοὺς παῖδας ἐκκλέψας ἐκ τῶν Ἀθηνῶν Ἐπικράτης ὁ Ἀχαρνεὺς ἀπέστει- 15 λεν· ὃν ἐπὶ τούτῳ Κίμων ὑστερον κρίνας ἔθανάτωσεν, ὡς ἴστορεὶ Στησίμβροτος. εἰτ' οὐκ οὐδὲ δύπως ἐπιλαθόμενος τούτων ἢ τὸν Θεμιστοκλέα ποιῶν ἐπιλαθόμενον πλεῦσαί φησιν εἰς Σικελίαν καὶ παρ' Ἰέρωνος αἴτειν τοῦ τυράννου τὴν θυγατέρα πρὸς γάμον, ὑπισχνούμενον αὐτῷ τοὺς Ἐλληνας ὑπηκόους ποιήσειν· ἀποτριψαμένου δὲ τοῦ Ἰέρωνος οὕτως εἰς τὴν Ἀσίαν ἀπάραι.

Ταῦτα δ' οὐκ εἰκός ἔστιν οὕτω γενέσθαι. Θεό- XXV φραστος γάρ ἐν τοῖς Περὶ βασιλείας 25 ἴστορεῖ τὸν Θεμιστοκλέα, πέμψαντος εἰς ^{Themis-}
^{tokles gets}
^{over to Asia.} Ὁλυμπίαν Ἰέρωνος ἵππους ἀγωνιστὰς καὶ σκηνήν τινα κατεσκευασμένην πολυτελῶς στήσαντος, εἰπεῖν ἐν τοῖς "Ἐλλησι λόγοι, ὡς χρὴ τὴν σκηνὴν διαρπάσαι τοῦ τυράννου καὶ κωλῦσαι 30 τοὺς ἵππους ἀγωνίσασθαι. Θουκυδίδης δὲ καὶ

πλεῦσαι φησιν αὐτὸν ἐπὶ τὴν ἑτέραν καταβάντα θάλασσαν ἀπὸ Πύδνης, οὐδενὸς εἰδότος δόστις εἴη τῶν πλεόντων, μέχρι οὐ πνεύματι τῆς ὄλκάδος εἰς Νάξον καταφερομένης ὑπὲν Ἀθηναίων πολιορκουμένην τότε φοβηθεὶς ἀναδεῖξειν ἔαυτὸν τῷ τε 5
 2 ναυκλήρῳ καὶ τῷ κυβερνήτῃ· καὶ τὰ μὲν δεόμενος,
 τὰ δὲ ἀπειλῶν καὶ λέγων, ὅτι κατηγορήσοι καὶ
 καταψεύσοιτο πρὸς τοὺς Ἀθηναίους ὡς οὐκ
 ἀγνοοῦντες ἀλλὰ χρήμασι πεισθέντες ἐξ ἀρχῆς
 ἀναλάβοιεν αὐτόν, οὕτως ἀναγκάσειε παραπλεῦσαι 10
 καὶ λαβέσθαι τῆς Ἀσίας. τῶν δὲ χρημάτων αὐτῷ
 πολλὰ μὲν ὑπεκκλαπέντα διὰ τῶν φίλων εἰς
 Ἀσίαν ἔπλει· τῶν δὲ φανερών γενομένων καὶ
 συναχθέντων εἰς τὸ δημόσιον Θεόπομπος μὲν
 ἐκατὸν τάλαντα, Θεόφραστος δὲ ὀγδοήκοντά φησι 15
 γενέσθαι τὸ πλῆθος, οὐδὲ τριῶν ἅξια ταλάντων
 κεκτημένου τοῦ Θεμιστοκλέους πρὸν ἅπτεσθαι τῆς
 πολιτείας.

κκχVI Ἐπεὶ δὲ κατέπλευσεν εἰς Κύμην καὶ πολλοὺς
 He goes to
 Cyme and
 thence to
 Aegae to
 Nikogenes:
 andulti-
 mately seeks
 refuge with
 the king of
 Persia .

ἡσθετο τῶν ἐπὶ θαλάττη παραφυλάττον- 20
 τας αὐτὸν λαβεῖν, μάλιστα δὲ τοὺς περὶ
 Ἔργοτέλη καὶ Πυθόδωρον (ἥν γὰρ ή θήρα
 λυσιτελής τοῖς τὸ κερδαίνειν ἀπὸ παντὸς
 ἀγαπῶσι, διακοσίων ἐπικεκηρυγμένων
 αὐτῷ ταλάντων ὑπὸ τοῦ βασιλέως), ἔφυγεν εἰς 25
 Αἴγας, Αἰολικὸν πολισμάτιον, ὑπὸ πάντων ἀγνο-
 ούμενος πλὴν τοῦ ξένου Νικογένους, ὃς Αἰολέων
 πλείστην οὐσίαν ἐκέπτητο καὶ τοῖς ἄνω δυνατοῖς
 γνώριμος ὑπῆρχε. παρὰ τούτῳ κρυπτόμενος ἥμέ-
 ρας ὄλιγας διέτριψεν· εἶτα μετὰ τὸ δεῦπνον ἐκ 30

θυσιας τινὸς Ὁλβιος ὁ τῶν τέκνων τοῦ Νικογένους
παιδαγωγὸς ἔκφρων γενόμενος καὶ θεοφόρητος
ἀνεφώνησεν ἐν μέτρῳ ταυτῷ

Νυκτὶ φωνήν, νυκτὶ βουλήν, νυκτὶ τὴν νίκην δίδου.

5 Καὶ μετὰ ταῦτα κοιμηθεὶς ὁ Θεμιστοκλῆς ὅναρ 2
ἔδοξεν ἵδεν δράκοντα κατὰ τῆς γαστρὸς αὐτοῦ
περιελιπτόμενον καὶ προσανέρποντα τῷ τραχῆλῳ·
γενόμενον δὲ δετόν, ὡς ἥψατο τοῦ προσώπου,
περιβαλόντα τὰς πτέρυγας ἔξηραι καὶ κομίζειν
10 πολλὴν ὄδόν, ἔτα χρυσοῦ τινὸς κηρυκείου φανέν-
τος, ἐπὶ τούτου στῆσαι βεβαίως αὐτὸν ἀμηχάνου
δείματος καὶ ταραχῆς ἀπαλλαγέντα. πέμπεται
δὲ οὖν ὑπὸ τοῦ Νικογένους μηχανησαμένου τι
τοιόνδε. τοῦ βαρβαρικοῦ γένους τὸ πολὺ καὶ
15 μάλιστα τὸ Περσικὸν εἰς ζηλοτυπίαν τὴν περὶ³
τὰς γυναικας ἄγριου φύσει καὶ χαλεπόν ἐστιν.
οὐ γὰρ μόνον τὰς γαμετάς, ἀλλὰ καὶ τὰς ἀργυρω-
νήτους καὶ παλλακευομένας ἴσχυρῶς παραφυλάτ-
τουσιν, ὡς ὑπὸ μηδενὸς δρᾶσθαι τῶν ἐκτός, ἀλλ’
20 οἴκοι μὲν διαιτᾶσθαι κατακεκλεισμένας, ἐν δὲ ταῖς
ὅδοις πορίαις ὑπὸ σκηναῖς κύκλῳ περιπεφραγμέ-
νας ἐπὶ τῶν ἀρμαμαξῶν ὀχεῖσθαι τοιαύτης τῷ
Θεμιστοκλεῖ κατασκευασθείσης ἀπήνης καταδὺς
ἐκομίζετο, τῶν περὶ αὐτὸν ἀεὶ τοῖς ἐντυγχάνουσι
25 καὶ πυνθανομένοις λεγόντων, δτὶ γύναιον Ἑλλη-
νικὸν ἀγοντινὸν ἀπ' Ἰωνίας πρὸς τινα τῶν ἐπὶ³
θύραις βασιλέως.

Θουκυδίδης μὲν οὖν καὶ Χάρων ὁ Λαμψακηνὸς XXVI.
ἱστοροῦσι τεθνηκότος Μέρξου πρὸς τὸν οἰδὲν αὐτοῦ

τῷ Θεμιστοκλεῖ γενέσθαι τὴν ἔντευξιν· Ἔφορος δὲ καὶ Δείνων καὶ Κλείταρχος καὶ Ἡρακλείδης, ἔτι δ' ἄλλοι πλείονες, πρὸς αὐτὸν ἀφικέσθαι τὸν

Ξέρξην. τοὺς δὲ χρονικοῦς δοκεῖ μᾶλλον

I negotiated
with one of
the royal of-
ficers about
an audience
with his Ma-
jesty.

ό Θουκυδίδης συμφέρεσθαι, καίπέρ οὐδὲ 5
αὗτοῖς ἀτρέμα συντεταγμένοις. ὁ δ'

οὖν Θεμιστοκλῆς γενόμενος παρ' αὐτὸ

τὸ δεινὸν ἐντυγχάνει πρῶτον Ἀρταβάνῳ

τῷ χιλιάρχῳ, λέγων "Ελλην μὲν εἴναι, βούλεσθαι
δ' ἐντυχεῖν βασιλεῖ περὶ πραγμάτων μεγάλων καὶ 1c

2 πρὸς δὲ τυγχάνει μάλιστα σπουδάζων ἐκεῖνος. 'Ο δέ φησιν "Ω ἔνε, νόμοι διαφέρουσιν ἀνθρώπων
ἄλλα δ' ἄλλοις καλά καλὸν δὲ πᾶσι τὰ οἰκεῖα
κοσμεῖν καὶ σώζειν. ὑμᾶς μὲν οὖν ἐλευθερίαν
μάλιστα θαυμάζειν καὶ ἴστορητα λόγος· ήμῶν δὲ 1e
πολλῶν νόμων καὶ καλῶν δυτῶν κάλλιστος οὐτός
ἐστι, τιμᾶν βασιλέα καὶ προσκυνεῖν ὡς εἰκόνα
θεοῦ τοῦ τὰ πάντα σώζοντος. εἰ μὲν οὖν ἐπαινῶν
τὰ ήμέτερα προσκυνήσεις, ἔστι σοι καὶ θεάσασθαι
βασιλέα καὶ προσειπεῖν· εἰ δ' ἄλλο τι φρονεῖς, 2c
ἢ γγέλοις ἐτέροις χρήση πρὸς αὐτόν. βασιλεῖ γὰρ
οὐ πάτριον ἀνδρὸς ἀκριδίσθαι μὴ προσκυνήσαντος."
ταῦτα δὲ Θεμιστοκλῆς ἀκούσας λέγει πρὸς αὐτόν
'Ἀλλ' ἔγωγε τὴν βασιλέως, δὲ Ἀρτάβανε, φήμην
καὶ δύναμιν αὐξήσων ἀφύγματι, καὶ αὐτός τε πεί- 25
σομαι τοῖς ὑμετέροις νόμοις, ἐπεὶ θεῷ τῷ μεγαλύ-
νοντι Πέρσας οὕτω δοκεῖ, καὶ δι' ἐμὲ πλείονες τῶν
νῦν βασιλέα προσκυνήσουσιν. "Ωστε τοῦτο μηδὲν
ἐμποδὼν ἔστω τοῖς λόγοις, οὓς βούλομαι πρὸς
3 ἐκεῖνον εἰπεῖν." "Τίνα δὲ" εἶπεν δὲ Ἀρτάβανος 3c

‘Ελλήνων ἀφίχθαί σε φῶμεν; οὐ γὰρ ἰδιώτη τὴν γνώμην ἔοικας.’ καὶ ὁ Θεμιστοκλῆς· ‘Τοῦτ’ οὐκέτ’ ἀν’ ἔφη ‘πύθοιτό τις, Ἀρτάβανε, πρότερος βασιλέως.’ οὗτο μὲν δὲ Φαντας φησίν. ‘Ο δὲ Ἐρατος οὐδένης ἐν τοῖς Περὶ πλούτου προσιστόρησε, διὸ γυναικὸς Ἐρετρικῆς, ἦν δὲ χιλίαρχος εἶχε, τῷ Θεμιστοκλεῖ τὴν πρὸς αὐτὸν ἔντευξιν γενέσθαι καὶ σύστασιν.

‘Ἐπειδὲ οὖν εἰσήχθη πρὸς βασιλέα καὶ προσ- XX
10 κυνήσας ἐστη σιωπῇ, προστάξαντος τῷ His interview
with the
King. ἔρμηνεν τοῦ βασιλέως ἐρωτήσαι, τίς ἐστι, καὶ τοῦ ἔρμηνέως ἐρωτήσαντος, εἶπεν·

‘Ηκω σοι, βασιλεῦ, Θεμιστοκλῆς δὲ Ἀθηναῖος ἔγω φυγάς νῦν’ ‘Ελλήνων διωχθεῖς, φῶ πολλὰ μὲν 15 ὄφειλουσι Πέρσαι κακά, πλείω δὲ ἀγαθὰ κωλύσαντι τὴν διωξιν, θε τῆς Ἐλλάδος ἐν ἀσφαλεῖ γεγενημένης παρέσχε τὰ οἰκεῖα σωζόμενα χαρίσασθαί τι καὶ νῦν. ἐμοὶ μὲν οὖν πάντα πρέποντα ταῖς παρούσαις συμφοραῖς ἐστι, καὶ παρεσκευασμένος 20 ἀφίγματι δέξασθαί τε χάριν εὐμενῶς διαλλαττομένου καὶ παραιτεῖσθαι μηνησικακοῦντος ὄργην· σὺ 2 δὲ τοὺς ἔμοις ἔχθρονδι μάρτυρας θέμενος ὡν εὐεργέτησα Πέρσας νῦν ἀπόχρησαι ταῖς ἐμαῖς τύχαις πρὸς ἐπίδειξιν ἀρετῆς μᾶλλον δὲ πρὸς ἀποπλήρωσιν 25 ὄργης. σώσεις μὲν γὰρ ἱκέτην σόν, ἀπολεῖς δὲ ‘Ελλήνων πολέμιον γενόμενον.’ ταῦτ’ εἰπὼν δὲ Θεμιστοκλῆς ἐπεθείασε τῷ λόγῳ προσδιελθῶν τὴν δψιν, ἦν εἰδεν ἐν Νικογένους, καὶ τὸ μάντευμα τοῦ Δωδωναίου Διός, ὃς κελευσθεὶς πρὸς τὸν ὅμωνυμον 30 τοῦ θεοῦ βαδίζειν συμφρονήσειε πρὸς ἑκεῖνον ἀνα-

πέμπεσθαι μεγάλους γάρ ἀμφοτέρους είναι τε καὶ
ζλέγεσθαι βασιλέας. Ἀκούσας δὲ ὁ Πέρσης ἐκείνῳ
μὲν οὐδὲν ἀπεκρίνατο, κατέπερ θαυμάσας τὸ φρόνημα
καὶ τὴν τόλμαν αὐτοῦ· μακαρίσας δὲ πρὸς τοὺς
φίλους ἔαυτὸν ὡς ἐπ' εὔτυχῃ μεγίστη, καὶ κατευ- 5
ξάμενος ἀεὶ τοὺς πολεμίους τοιαύτας φρένας διδόναι
τὸν Ἀριμάνιον, ὅπως ἐλαύνωσε τοὺς ἀρίστους ἐξ
ἔαυτῶν, θύσατε τοὺς θεοὺς λέγεται καὶ πρὸς πόσιν
εὐθὺς τραπέσθαι καὶ νύκτωρ ὑπὸ χαρᾶς διὰ μέσων
τῶν ὕπνων βοῆσαι τρίς “Ἐχω Θεμιστοκλέα τὸν ιο
Ἀθηναῖον.”

ΧΧΙΧ "Αμα δ' ήμέρα συγκαλέσας τοὺς φίλους εἰσῆγεν
Influence
which he ac-
quires with
the King.
αὐτὸν μηδὲν ἐλπίζοντα χρηστὸν ἔξι ὡν
έώρα τοὺς ἐπὶ θύραις ἐγγύς, ὃς ἐπύθουντο
τοῦνομα παριόντος αὐτοῦ, χαλεπῶς δια- 15
κειμένους καὶ κακῶς λέγοντας. ἦτι δὲ 'Ρωξάνης
ὁ χιλιαρχος, ὃς κατ' αὐτὸν ἦν ὁ Θεμιστοκλῆς
προσιών, καθημένου βασιλέως καὶ τῶν ἄλλων
σιωπώντων, ἀτρέμα στενάξας εἶπεν "Οφις" Ελλην
ὁ ποικίλος, ὁ βασιλέως σε δαίμων δεῦρο ἥγαγεν." 20
οὐ μὴν ἀλλ' εἰς δύψιν ἐλθόντος αὐτοῦ καὶ πάλιν
προσκυνήσαντος, ἀσπασάμενος καὶ προσειπὼν φι-
λοφρόνως ὁ βασιλεύς, ἥδη μὲν ἔφησεν αὐτῷ δια-
κόσια τάλαντα ὀφεῖλειν κομίσαντα γάρ αὐτὸν
ἀπολήψεσθαι δικαίως τὸ ἐπικηρυχθὲν τῷ ἀγαγόντι. 25
πολλῷ δὲ πλείω τούτων ὑπισχνεῖτο καὶ παρε-
θάρρωνε καὶ λέγειν ἐδίδου περὶ τῶν 'Ελληνικῶν
2 ἢ βούλοιτο παρρησιαζόμενον. 'Ο δὲ Θεμιστοκλῆς
ἀπεκρίνατο, τὸν λόγον ἐοικέναι τοῦ ἀνθρώπου τοὺς
ποικίλοις στρώμασιν· ὡς γὰρ ἐκεῖνα καὶ τοῦτον 30

έκτεινόμενον μὲν ἐπιδείκνυσθαι τὰ εἶδη, συστελλόμενον δὲ κρύπτειν καὶ διαφθείρειν· δόθεν αὐτῷ χρόνου δεῖν. ἐπεὶ δ', ήσθέντος τοῦ βασιλέως τῇ εἰκασίᾳ καὶ λαμβάνειν κελεύσαντος, ἐνιαυτὸν αἰτησάμενος καὶ τὴν Περσίδα γλώτταν ἀποχρωντας ἐκμαθῶν ἐνετύγχανε βασιλεῖ δί' αὐτοῦ, τοῖς μὲν ἐκτὸς δόξαν παρέσχε περὶ τῶν Ἑλληνικῶν πραγμάτων διειλέχθας, πολλῶν δὲ καινοτομουμένων περὶ τὴν αὐλὴν καὶ τοὺς φίλους ὑπὸ τοῦ βασιλέως ιο ἐν ἐκείνῳ τῷ χρόνῳ φθόνον ἔσχε παρὰ τοῖς δυνατοῖς, ὡς καὶ κατ' ἐκείνων παρρησίᾳ χρῆσθαι πρὸς αὐτὸν ἀποτελομηκώς. Οὐδὲ γάρ ησαν αἱ τιμαὶ 3 ταῖς τῶν ἄλλων ἐοικυῖαι ξένων, ἀλλὰ καὶ κυνηγεσίων βασιλεῖ μετέσχε καὶ τῶν οἰκοι διατριβῶν, 15 ὅστε καὶ μητρὶ τῇ βασιλέως εἰς ὅψιν ἐλθεῖν καὶ γενέσθαι συνήθης, διακοῦσται δὲ καὶ τῶν μαγικῶν λόγων τοῦ βασιλέως κελεύσαντος. ἐπεὶ δὲ Δημάρατος ὁ Σπαρτιάτης αἰτήσασθαι Signal proof
of this influence. δωρεὰν κελευσθεὶς ὥτησατο τὴν κίταριν,

20 ὅσπερ οἱ βασιλεῖς, ἐπαιρόμενος εἰσελάσαι διὰ Σάρδεων, Μιθροπαύστης μὲν ἀνεψιὸς ὧν βασιλέως εἴπε τοῦ Δημαράτου τῆς τιάρας ἀγάμενος 'Δῦτη μὲν ἡ κίταρις οὐκ ἔχει ἐγκέφαλον, διν ἐπικαλύψει· σὺ δ' οὐκ ἔσῃ Ζεύς, ἀν λάβης κεραυνόν.' Ἀπωσα- 4

25 μένου δὲ τὸν Δημάρατον ὄργη διὰ τὸ αἴτημα τοῦ βασιλέως καὶ δοκοῦντος ἀπαραιτήτως ἔχειν πρὸς αὐτόν, ὁ Θεμιστοκλῆς δεηθεὶς ἐπεισε καὶ διήλλαξε. λέγεται δὲ καὶ τοὺς ὕστερους βασιλεῖς, ἐφ' ὧν μᾶλλον αἱ Περσικαὶ πράξεις ταῦς Ἑλληνικαῖς 30 ἀνεκράθησαν, ὁσάκις δεηθεῖεν ἀνδρὸς Ἑλληνος,

ἐπαγγέλλεσθαι καὶ γράφειν πρὸς ἔκαστον, ὡς
μείζων ἔσοιτο παρ' αὐτῷ Θεμιστοκλέους. αὐτὸν
δὲ τὸν Θεμιστοκλέα φασὶν ἥδη μέγαν ὅντα καὶ
θεραπευόμενον ὑπὸ πολλῶν λαμπρᾶς ποτε τρα-
πέζης παρατεθέσης πρὸς τοὺς παῖδας εἰπεῖν· “Ω 5
παῖδες, ἀπωλόμεθα ἄν, εἰ μὴ ἀπωλόμεθα.” πόλεις
δ' αὐτῷ τρεῖς μὲν οἱ πλεῦστοι δοθῆναι λέγουσιν εἰς
ἄρτον καὶ οἶνον καὶ ὄψον, Μαγνησίαν καὶ Λάμψα-
κον καὶ Μυοῦντα· δύο δ' ἄλλας προστίθησιν ὁ
Κυζικηνὸς Νεάνθης καὶ Φανίας, Περκώτην καὶ 10
Παλαίσκηφιν εἰς στρωματὴν καὶ ἀμπεχόντην.

XXX Καταβαίνοντι δ' αὐτῷ πρὸς τὰς Ἑλληνικὰς
 His narrow
escape from
danger
during his
travels. πράξεις ἐπὶ θάλατταν Πέρσης ἀνήρ
 ’Επιξύνης ὅνομα, σατραπεύων τῆς ἄνω
 Φρυγίας, ἐπεβούλευσε, παρεσκευακὼς ἔκ- 15
 παλαι Πισίδας τινὰς ἀποκτενοῦντας, ὅταν
 ἐν τῇ καλουμένῃ κώμῃ Λεοντοκεφάλῳ γενόμενος
 καταυλισθῇ. τῷ δὲ λέγεται καθεύδοντες μεσημ-
 βρίας τὴν μητέρα τῶν θεῶν ὅναρ φανεῖσαν εἰπεῖν·
 “Ω Θεμιστόκλεις, ὑστέρει κεφαλῆς λεόντων, μὴ 20
 λέοντι περιπέσῃς. ἐγὼ δὲ ἀντὶ τούτου σε αὐτῷ
 θεράπαιναν Μνησιπτολέμαν.” διαταραχθεὶς οὖν
 δ' Θεμιστοκλῆς προσευξάμενος τῇ θεῷ τὴν μὲν
 λεωφόρον ἀφῆκεν, ἔτέρᾳ δὲ περιελθῶν καὶ παρα-
 λάξας τὸν τόπον ἐκείνον ἥδη νυκτὸς αῦσης κατην- 25
 2 λίστα. Τῶν δὲ τὴν σκηνὴν κομιζόντων ὑπο-
 δυνγίων ἕνδεις εἰς τὸν ποταμὸν ἐμπεσόντος, οἱ τοῦ
 Θεμιστοκλέους οἰκέται τὰς αὐλαίας διαβράχων
 γενομένας ἐκπετάσαντες ἀνέψυχον οἱ δὲ Πισίδαι
 τὰ ἔιφη λαβόντες ἐν τούτῳ προσεφέροντο, καὶ τὰ 30

ψυχόμενα πρὸς τὴν σελήνην οὐκ ἀκριβῶς ἴδοντες φίγθησαν εἶναι τὴν σκηνὴν τὴν Θεμιστοκλέους κἀκεῖνον ἔνδον εύρησεν ἀναπαυόμενον. ὡς δ' ἐγρὺς γενόμενοι τὴν αὐλαίαν ἀνέστελλον, ἐπιπλέπουσιν 5 μάυτοῖς οἱ παραφυλάσσοντες καὶ συλλαμβάνουσι. διαφυγὴν δὲ τὸν κίνδυνον οὔτω καὶ θαυμάσας τὴν ἐπιφάνειαν τῆς θεοῦ ναὸν κατεσκεύασεν ἐν Μαγ-
νησίᾳ Διυδυμήνης καὶ τὴν θυγατέρα Μιησιππολέ-
μαν οἴρειαν ἀπέδειξεν.

10 'Ως δ' ἦλθει εἰς Σάρδεις καὶ σχολὴν ἄγων XX
ἐθεάτο τῶν ιερῶν τὴν κατασκευὴν καὶ ^{Themistokles}
τῶν ἀναθημάτων τὸ πλῆθος, εἰδεὶ δὲ καὶ ^{at Sardis.}
ἐν Μητρὸς ιερῷ τὴν καλουμένην ὑδροφόρον κόρην
χαλκῆν, μέγεθος δίπηχυν, ἥν αὐτὸς ὅτε τῶν Ἀθή-
15 νησιν ὑδάτων ἐπιστάτης ἤν, ἐλών τοὺς ὑφαιρου-
μένους τὸ ὕδωρ καὶ παροχετεύοντας, ἀνέθηκεν ἐκ
τῆς ζημίας ποιησάμενος, εἴτε δὴ παθών τι πρὸς
τὴν αἰχμαλωσίαν τοῦ ἀναθήματος εἴτε βονλόμενος
ἐνδείξασθαι τοῖς Ἀθηναίοις, δεσμὸν ἔχει τιμῆν καὶ
20 δύναμιν ἐν τοῖς βασιλέως πράγμασι, λόγον τῷ
Λιδίας σατράπῃ προσήνεγκεν, αἰτούμενος ἀπο-
στεῖλαι τὴν κόρην εἰς τὰς Ἀθήνας. Χαλεπαί-
25 μοντας δὲ τοῦ βαρβάρου καὶ βασιλεῖ γράψειν φή-
σαντος ἐπιστολήν, φοβηθεὶς δὲ Θεμιστοκλῆς εἰς
τὴν γυναικωμῆτιν κατέφυγε, καὶ τὰς παλλακίδας
αὐτοῦ θεραπεύσας χρήμασιν ἐκεῖνόν τε κατεπράμνε
τῆς ὄργης καὶ πρὸς τὰ ἄλλα παρεῖχεν ἔαυτὸν
εὐλαβέστερον, ἥδη καὶ τὸν φθάνον τῶν βαρβάρων
δεδοικώς. οὐ γὰρ πλανώμενος περὶ τὴν Ἀσίαν, ὡς
30 φησι Θεόπομπος, ἀλλ' ἐν Μαγνησίᾳ μὲν οἰκῶν,

καρπούμενος δὲ δωρεὰς μεγάλας καὶ τιμώμενος
δμοια Περσῶν τοῖς ἀρίστοις, ἐπὶ πολὺν χρόνου
ἀδεῶς διῆγεν, οὐ πάνυ τι τοῖς Ἑλληνικοῖς πράγμασι
βασιλέως προσέχοντος ὑπὸ ἀσχολιῶν περὶ τὰς
 3 His death by ^{his} αἴνω πράξεις. ‘Ως δὲ Αἰγυπτός τε ἀφί-
suicide. σταμένη βοηθούντων Ἀθηναίων καὶ τριή-
ρεις Ἑλληνικαὶ μέχρι Κύπρου καὶ Κιλικίας ἀν-
πλέουσαι καὶ Κίμων θαλαττοκρατῶν ἐπέστρεψεν
αὐτὸν ἀντεπιχειρεῖν τοῖς Ἑλλησι καὶ κωλύειν
αὐξανομένους ἐπ’ αὐτόν, ἥδη δὲ καὶ δυνάμεις ἐκι-
νοῦντο καὶ στρατηγοὶ διεπέμποντο καὶ κατέβαινον
ἀγγελαὶ πρὸς Θεμιστοκλέα, τῶν Ἑλληνικῶν ἔξα-
πτεσθαι κελεύοντος βασιλέως καὶ βεβαιοῦν τὰς
ὑποσχέσεις, οὔτε δὲ ὄργην τινὰ παροξυνθεὶς κατὰ
τῶν πολιτῶν οὔτε ἐπαρθεὶς τιμῇ τοσαύτῃ καὶ 15
δυνάμει πρὸς τὸν πόλεμον, ἀλλ’ ἵσως μὲν οὐδὲ
 4 ἐφικτὸν ἥγονύμενος τὸ ἔργον, ἄλλους τε μεγάλους
τῆς Ἑλλάδος ἔχούσης στρατηγοὺς τότε καὶ Κίμωνος
ὑπερφυῶς εὐημεροῦντος ἐν τοῖς πολεμικοῖς, τὸ δὲ
πλεῖστον αἰδοῖ τῆς τε δόξης τῶν πράξεων τῶν 20
έαυτοῦ καὶ τῶν τροπαίων ἐκείνων, ἄριστα βου-
λευσάμενος ἐπιθεῖναι τῷ βίῳ τὴν τελευτὴν πρέ-
πουσαν ἔθυσε τοῖς θεοῖς, καὶ τοὺς φίλους συνα-
γαγὼν καὶ δεξιωσάμενος, ὡς μὲν ὁ πολὺς λόγος,
αἷμα ταύρειον πιών, ὡς δὲ ἔνιοι, φάρμακον ἐφήμερον 25
προσενεγκάμενος, ἐν Μαγνησίᾳ κατέστρεψε πέντε
πρὸς τοῖς ἔξήκοντα βεβιωκώς ἔτη καὶ τὰ πλεῖστα
τούτων ἐν πολιτείαις καὶ ἥγεμονίαις. τὴν δὲ αἰτίαν
τοῦ θανάτου καὶ τὸν τρόπον πυθόμενον βασιλέα λέ-
γουσιν ἔτι μᾶλλον θαυμάσται τὸν ἄνδρα, καὶ τοῖς 30

φίλοις αὐτοῦ καὶ οἰκείοις χρώμενον διατελεῖν φιλανθρώπως.

'Απέλυπε δὲ Θεμιστοκλῆς παῖδας ἐκ μὲν Ἀρχέπτης τῆς Λυσάνδρου τοῦ Ἀλωπεκῆθεν
 5 'Αρχέπτολιν καὶ Πολύευκτον καὶ Κλεό-<sup>The posterity
of Themis-
tokles.</sup>
 φαντον, οὐ καὶ Πλάτων ὁ φιλόσοφος ὡς
 ἵππεώς ἀρίστου, τāλλα δ' οὐδενὸς ἄξιου γενομένου
 μνημονεύει. τῶν δὲ πρεσβυτάτων Νεοκλῆς μὲν
 ἔτι παῖς ὧν ὑφ' ἵππου δηχθεὶς ἀπέθανε, Διοκλέα
 10 δὲ Λύσανδρος ὁ πάππος υἱὸν ἐποιήσατο. θυγατέρας
 δὲ πλείους ἔσχεν, ὧν Μητισπτολέμαν μὲν ἐκ τῆς
 ἐπιγαμηθείσης γενομένην Ἀρχέπτολις ὁ ἀδελφὸς
 οὐκ ὧν ὁμομήτριος ἦγημεν, Ἰταλίαν δὲ Πανθοΐδης
 δὲ Χῖος, Σύβαριν δὲ Νικομήδης ὁ Ἀθηναῖος· Νι-
 15 κομάχην δὲ Φρασικλῆς ὁ ἀδελφιδοῦς Θεμιστοκλέ-
 ους, ἥδη τετελευτηκότος ἐκείνου, πλεύσας εἰς Μαγ-
 νησίαν ἔλαβε παρὰ τῶν ἀδελφῶν, νεωτάτην δὲ
 πάντων τῶν τέκνων Ἀσταίν ἔθρεψε. Καὶ
 20 τάφον μὲν αὐτοῦ λαμπρὸν ἐν τῇ ἀγορᾷ
 Μάργυρης ἔχουσι· περὶ δὲ τῶν λειψάνων
 οὗτ' Ἀνδοκίδης προσέχειν ἄξιον ἐν τῷ
 Πρὸς τοὺς ἑταίρους λέγοντι, φωράσαντας τὰ λε-
 φανα διαρρῆψαι τοὺς Ἀθηναίους (ψεύδεται γάρ
 25 ἐπὶ τὸν δῆμον παροξύνων τοὺς ὀλυγαρ-<sup>Treatment of
his remains.</sup>
 χικούς), ἢ τε λέγων Φύλαρχος, ὡσπερ
 ἐν τραγῳδίᾳ τῇ ἴστορᾳ μονονού μηχανὴν ἄρας καὶ
 προαγαγῶν Νεοκλέα τινὰ καὶ Δημόπολιν, υἱὸν
 Θεμιστοκλέους, ἀγῶνα βούλεται κινεῖν καὶ πάθος,
 οὐδὲ ἀν ὁ τυχῶν ἀγνοήσειεν ὅτι πέπλασται. Διό- 3
 30 δωρος δὲ ὁ περιηγητὴς ἐν τοῖς Περὶ μνημάτων

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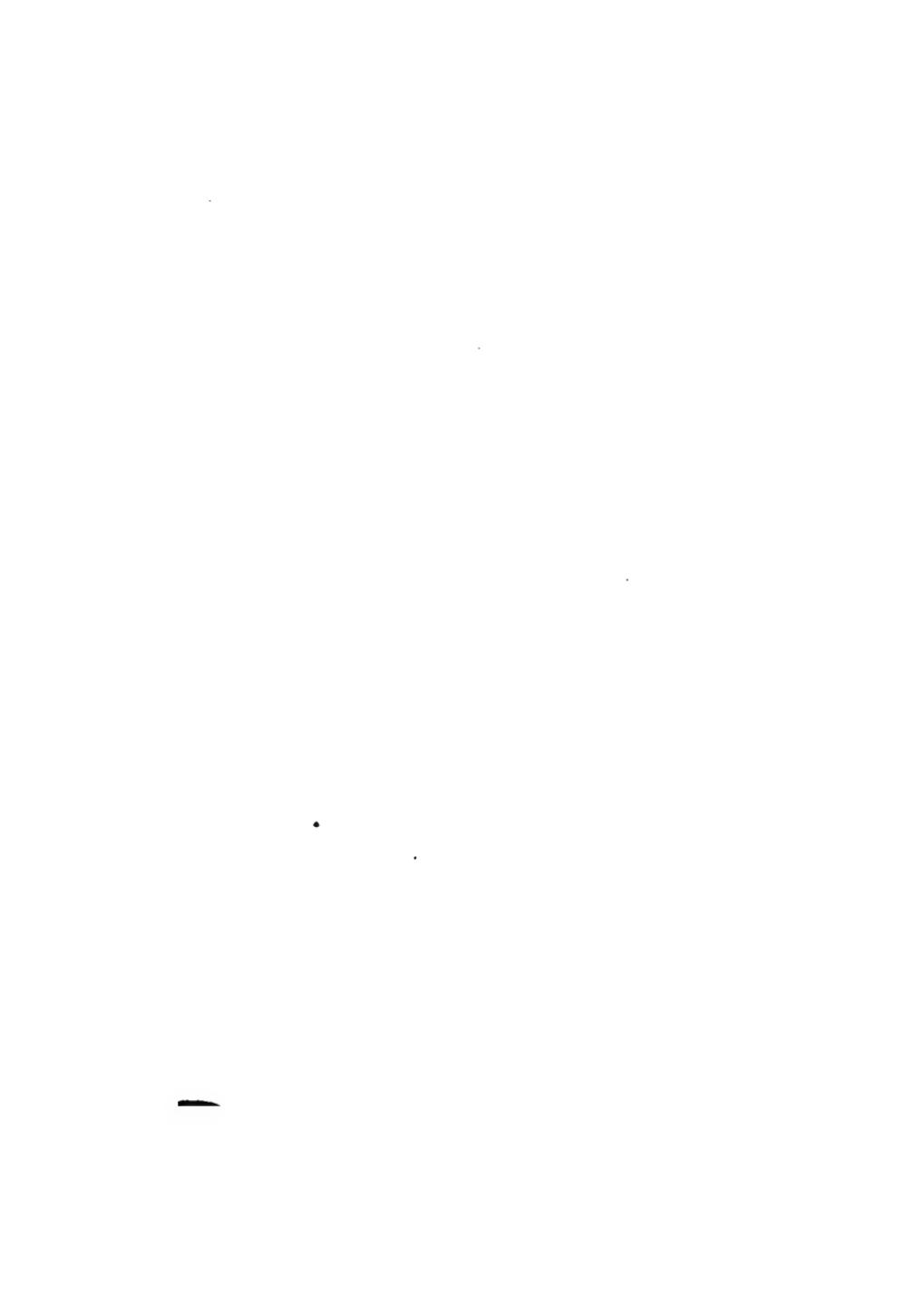
εῖρηκεν ὡς ὑπονοῶν μᾶλλον ἢ γινώσκων, ὅτι περὶ τὸν μέγαν λιμένα τοῦ Πειραιῶς ἀπὸ τοῦ κατὰ τὸν Ἀλκιμὸν ἀκρωτηρίου πρόκειται τις οἰον ἀγκών, καὶ κάμψαντι τοῦτον ἐντός, ἢ τὰ ὑπεύδιον τῆς θαλάττης, κρηπὶς ἔστιν εὐμεγέθης καὶ τὸ ἐπ' αὐτῷ 5 βωμοειδὲς τάφος τοῦ Θεμιστοκλέους. οἴεται δὲ καὶ Πλάτωνα τὸν κωμικὸν αὐτῷ μαρτυρεῖν ἐν τούτοις.

'Ο σὸς δὲ τύμβος ἐν καλῷ κεχωσμένος
τοὺς ἐμπόρους πρόσρησις ἔσται πανταχοῦ,
τούς τ' ἐκπλέοντας εἰσπλέοντάς τ' ὄψεται,
χωπόταν ἀμιλλ' ἢ τῶν νεῶν, θεάσεται.10

4 Τοῖς δ' ἀπὸ γένους τοῦ Θεμιστοκλέους καὶ τιμαὶ Honour paid τινες ἐν Μαγνησίᾳ φυλαττόμεναι μέχρι to his descendants. τῶν ἡμετέρων χρόνων ἦσαν, ἀς ἐκαρπαῦτο 15 Θεμιστοκλῆς Ἀθηναῖος, ἡμέτερος συνήθης καὶ φίλος παρ' Ἀμμωνίῳ τῷ φιλοσάφῳ γενόμενος.

NOTES

ON PLUTARCH'S
LIFE OF THEMISTOKLÈS.



PLUTARCH'S LIFE OF THEMISTOKLES

CHAPTER I

1. § 1. 1. Θεμιστοκλεῖς δὲ] the δὲ has no corresponding μέν, which shews that the beginning is incomplete: there was probably a short introduction to the pair of biographies, Themistokles and Camillus, such as we find in most of the biographies e.g. that of Agis, which has been lost.
τὰ μὲν ἐκ γένεως] a circumlocution for the simple γένεος, 'the advantages of birth.' The μὲν brings forward the first of the points to be handled in opposition to those which follow: it is answered by μέντοι, l. 8. ἀμαυρότερα πρὸς δόξαν θεάσθαι, 'were, to begin with, too obscure for distinction,' so Alcib. 1 τῆς Σωκράτους φύλας οὐ μικρὰ πρὸς δόξαν ἀπελαύνει. For ἀμαυρός cf. Hesiod opp. 282 τοῦ δὲ τ' ἀμαυροτέρη γένεται πετόπισθε λέλειται, Eur. Androm. 204 αὐτῷ τ' ἀμαυρὰ καὶ τύραννος ἦν Φρυγῶν.

2. πατρὸς δῆ] G. § 167, 1.

3. οὐ τῶν δύνατον εἴησαν, sc. ὄντος, 'not one of the highly distinguished,' partitive or genitive of the divided whole, G. § 168, § 169, 1. Cf. Herod. VIII 125 Τιμόδημος τῶν ἔχθρων μὲν τῶν Θεμιστοκλέος ἐὼν οὐλεῖς δὲ οὐ τῶν εἴησανέων ἀνδρῶν, Thuc. II. 43 ἀνδρῶν εἴησαν δέ τάσα γῆ τάφος. So in Plutarch's comparison (*σύγκρισις*) between Aristeides and Cato c. 1, Themistokles is stated to be οὐδὲν γένεος λαμπρός, although he was allied to the noble family of the Lykomidae, whereas, on the other hand, Nepos says in his life of him (c. 2) *pater eius Neocles generosus fuit*.

4. Ἀθήνησι] G. § 61 n. 2. Cf. § 3 l. 1 Φλυῖσι.
Φρέαρρον, 'of the deme Φρέαρρος,' so called after Phrearrus, who was, according to Stephanus Byzantinus, Ἀθήνησις ἐπίσημος ἥρως. τῶν δήμων] G. § 168, the partitive genitive instead of the accusative of reference. Cf. Perikl. 3, 1 Περικλῆς ἥρων μὲν φυλῶν Ἀκαμαντίδης τῶν δὲ δήμων Χολαργεύς. **Λεοντίδος**] the phyle Leontis was so named after another ἥρως ἐπώνυμος, viz. Λεόως.

After the reforms of Kleisthenes the population of Attica was divided into ten local tribes. (φυλαὶ τοπικαὶ) each called after some popular hero. Their names were Erechtheis (Erechtheus), Aegeis (Aegeus), Pandionis (Pandion), Leontis (Leos), Akamantis (Akamas), Oeneis (Oeneus), Kekropis (Kekrops), Hippothoontis (Hippothoon), Aeantia (Aias), Antiochia (Antiochus). A member of the phyle was called Ἐρεχθεῖδης, Αἰγεῖδης, Λεοντίδης, Πανδιονίδης, &c. These φυλαὶ were sub-divided into 174 δῆμοι or parishes, each possessing its principal town. The names of the different demes were taken either from the chief towns in them, as Marathon, Oenoe, Brauron, Eleusis, Rhamnus, Dekeles, Peiraeus &c., or from the names of the principal houses or clans in them, as the Daedalidae, Butadae, Thymoetadae, Skambonidae etc. The largest of the demes was Acharnae, which belonged to the tribe Oenels, below c. 24 § 3, Thuc. II. 191. The ten tribes were blended with the whole machinery of the constitution; 50 of the Senate of 600 were chosen from each of them; and the same principle of election ran through the chief offices of state. Each demus formed an independent corporation and had its own peculiar worship, its several magistrates, landed and other property, and held periodical meetings (ἀγοραὶ) for the transaction of its public business, the election of officers and the revision of its register of enrolment (ληξιαρχικὸν γραμματεῖον). Admission into a δῆμος was necessary before any individual could enter upon his full rights and privileges as a citizen.

5. νόθες πρὸς μητρόδος, 'illegitimate on his mother's side,' 'a half-alien,') (γνήσιος.

'Athenian citizenship depended essentially on being born in lawful wedlock, of parents who were themselves both citizens. The offspring of a citizen and a foreign woman were, in the eye of the law, illegitimate (*νόθοι*). Solon deprived them of all the *tura agnationis* (*άγγειοτεία*). Pericles, as far as we know, first exacted citizenship on the mother's side also (Plutarch Perikl. c. 37 § 2, Aelian var. hist. vi 10); but his law, if not actually repealed, must have become obsolete in the course of the Peloponnesian war; for, when Aristophon revived it in

the archonship of Euclides, he expressly excepted from its operation all born up to that time of women who were not citizens; so that it was only from that time that the citizenship of both parents became legally essential.' C. F. Hermann *Pol. antiqu. of Greece* § 118.

ἀς λέγουσιν] according to the well-known inscription, which we must suppose was written under her statue or bust.

6. Ἀβρότονος, sc. εἰμι. For the form of the name cf. Γλυκέρια, Δέλφιν, Λοπάδιον, Νηρυιον, Φιλημάρια, Χρυσίον, and other similar names of female slaves and ἔραιραι. γένεσις] G. § 160, 1.

Θρήσσα] a dialectic form of Θράσσα or Θράσση 'a Thracian woman,' fem. of Θράσ. τεκέσθαι φημι] G. § 136 note 3.

§ 2. 9. Καρύνη, a native of Caria. ὄνομα] G. § 160, 1.

10. ἀναγράφει, 'records.' Νεάνθης] Neanthes of Kyzikum lived about B.C. 241; he was a disciple of Philiscus of Miletus, who was himself a pupil of Isocrates. The various writers who quote him seem to rely upon his judgment and accuracy, as Diogenes Laertius, Athenaeus, and several of the early Christian writers. He wrote Memoirs of king Attalus, Hellenika, Lives of illustrious men, Pythagorika, Annals.

καὶ πόλιν, 'a city also' (as well as a province), viz. Halikarnassus.

11. προστίθεναι τινί τι, quid de quo dicere, 'to attribute anything to anybody.' οὐδὲ—ἴωσθε, 'for which reason (οὐδεὶς δὲ διότι, because he was a μόθος πρὸς μητρός) he used persuasion with some' etc.

12. Κυρραρύπτει] the three most famous and the oldest gymnasia at Athens were the Akademia, situated about $\frac{1}{2}$ of a mile from the city on the road to Kolonus; the Lykeum on the banks of the Kephisus E. of the city, and the Kynosarges, not far from the Lykeum, in a north-east suburb of the city, which, as we are here told, was frequented by strangers and Athenians of half-blood. Here was a temple of Heraklēs, who was a half-god, being the son of a mortal mother (διὰ τὴν μήτερα θυητὴν οὐσίαν), and so the natural patron of the base-born or illegitimate (Aristoph. Av. v. 1650). The name Kynosarges (κύων, ἀργός) is said to have been derived

from a 'white dog,' which snatched a part of a victim which Diōmus was sacrificing to Herakles, whereupon Diomus was told by an oracle to build a temple to the object of his sacrifice in the exact spot where τὸ λεπέσον ἀπέθετο ὁ κύων. συντελούνταν εἰς, 'belonging to,' literally 'contributing to.' Cf. Plutarch amator. 4, 9, p. 751 Αθῆλυν καὶ νόθουν "Ερωτα ὥσπερ εἰς Κυρόσαργες συντελοῦντα, Demosth. c. Aristokr. § 213 p. 692 εἰς τοὺς νόθους ἔκει συντελεῖ καθάπερ ποτὲ ἐνθάδε εἰς Κυρόσαργες οἱ νόθοι.

14. κάκεννος = καὶ ἔκεννος, sc. Heraklēs. ἐνείχετο νόθειᾳ] 'was subject to the imputation of bastardy,' cf. Isokr. de pac. p. 160 οὐ μηδεὶς ἐνοχοῖ γενώμεθα ταύταις τοῖς ἀνολαΐς, Aesch. c. Timarch. § 185 τὸν τοῖς αἰσχύστοις ἐπιτηδεύμασιν ἔνοχον.

15. μητέρα i.e. Alkmene.

16. εὐ γεγονότων i.q. γνησίων. Arist. 27, 4.

17. καταβαίνοντας] because it was in a suburb of Athens. αλέφωσθαι, 'to anoint themselves,' for gymnastic exercises, hence 'to practise,' 'to undergo a training' in gymnastics, Thucyd. I. 6 λίπα μετὰ τὸ γυμνάζεσθαι ἡλείψαντο. Hence διειπτῆς is used for a 'trainer and teacher of gymnastics,' and generally for 'a teacher,' as in Perikl. iv. 2. See on 3, 4 l. 6.

§ 3. 18. πανούργως, 'cleverly,' 'ingeniously.'

19. θιορισμὸν ανελεῖν, 'did away with the line of demarcation.'

20. μάντοι, 'for all that,' i.e. in spite of his νοθεία. Δικομιδῶν, an old priestly family, who had to chant hymns at the Eleusinian mysteries. γίνεσθαι] G. § 170, 2. δῆλος ἔστι—διτ, 'he has shown that,' a common form of attraction for δῆλον ἔστιν διτ, cf. 24, 2.

2 1. Φλυῆσι, at Phlya, a deme of the Κεκροπὶς φύλη, 15, 2. On the form of the word see n. to § 11. 4. τελεστήριον, the chapel for initiating (τελεῖν) novices at the Eleusinian mysteries, Perikl. 13, 3.

2. τῶν βαρβάρων, the Persians during their invasion B. c. 490.

3. αὐτὸς ἐπ-εσκεβαστε, 'restored, repaired at his own expense, and embellished with paintings.'

4. Ιστόρηκεν, 'has narrated,' perhaps in some inscription, as the expression is more suitable to an historical notice than to a lyric poet. The verb *Ιστορεῖν* is very commonly used by Plutarch in this sense of *memoriae prodere*, but never so in earlier Greek, where it means 'to enquire,' 'to learn by enquiry.' Cf. 7, 8; 19, 1; 24, 3; 25, 1; 27, 1.

CHAPTER II

§ 1. 5. φορᾶς, *incitationis, propensae voluntatis, 'vehement impulse'* (φέρομαι).

The word is used in this sense only in later Greek. Cf. Maxim. Tyr. 11, 6 δρυὴ καὶ φορᾶς καὶ ἀλογοῦ ἔξις, Dio Cass. 78, 38 θείᾳ τινὶ φορᾷ, 79, 15 κούφῃ τινὶ φορᾷ, Polyb. Hist. 80, 2, 4 μετεκάλεσε τὸν Ἀτταλον ἀπὸ τῆς ἀλογοῦ φορᾶς.

6. τῇ φύσει] 'in his natural disposition,' 'naturally,' G. § 188, note 1. τῇ προσιρέσει] 'his bias,' 'inclination,' which was for questions of statesmanship and important matters, as was evident from his manner of spending his leisure hours.

7. ἐν ταῖς δινέσεστι, 'in his hours of relaxation.' Plat. de legg. iv c. 12 p. 724 οὐ σπουδῆς τε περὶ καὶ ἀνέσεως, Polyb. I 66, 10 διὰ πολλοῦ χρόνου τετευχότες ἀνέσεως καὶ σχολῆς. On the use of abstract substantives in plural, where several instances are implied see my n. to Cic. de off. I § 78 l. 3.

8. ἀπὸ τῶν μαθημάτων γινόμενος, 'as often as he had done with his lessons.' Blass is wrong in joining *σχολαῖς* with ἀπὸ τῶν μαθημάτων 'rest from his studies.' He might quote in justification Plat. Phaedr. p. 66 D c. xi έάν τις ημῖν καὶ σχολὴ γένηται ἀπ' αὐτοῦ sc. τῆς φιλοσοφίας, but see below c. 19 γενόμενος ἀπὸ τῶν πράξεων ἑκείνων.

9. οὐδὲ ἄρραθνμαι, neque otiosus erat, 'nor did he idle away his time (Polyb. I 20, 2 τῷ δ' ἔχῆς (ἐκέλευσεν) ἀνατάθεσθαι καὶ βαθυμεῖν), but he would be found rehearsing and composing some speeches by (to) himself.' For συντάττεσθαι cf. Plato Phaedr. c. 46 p. 264 εἰ πρὸς τοῦτο συνταξάμενος

πάντα τὸν ὕστερον λόγον διεκεράνατο, Polyb. Hist. I. 3, 8 συντάξασθαι ταύτην τὴν βύβλον, III 1, 2 συνεταξάμεθα τὰς πρὸ ταύτης βίβλους.

12. κατηγορία κτλ., 'an attack on, or defence of, some of his school-fellows.'

§ 2. 13. δθεν, *unde*, 'from which circumstance' 'for which reason.' Cf. below § 3 1. 20. ὡς] ὡς, like δη, in classical (see e. g. Xen. Anab. I 6, 8, Plat. Apol. c. 28), is in later Greek prefixed to a direct quotation, Madvig Gr. Synt. § 192 a.

14. μικρὸν, 'petty.' πάντως, strongly affirmative, *projecto*, 'most assuredly.'

15. ἐνεὶ καὶ] introducing a further proof in confirmation of the previous statement. τῶν παιδεύσιων i. q. παιδευμάτων, 'his subjects of instruction:' the usual meaning of the word is 'process of instruction.' τὰς τιθοτοιοὺς κτλ., 'such as form the character or are pursued with a view to some refined pleasure and amusement.' μονακή chiefly is meant, 4, 5.

16. θευθέριον (which belongs to both the substantives *ἡδονὴν* and *χάριν*) means *ingenuum*, *liberalem*, 'fit for a free man,' 'liberal.'

18. τῶν δὲ εἰς συνέτων...ὑπερορῶν, 'he did not disguise his contempt for anything that was said referring to (the improvement of) the understanding or practical life, (as being too easy a lesson for him), since he trusted to his natural ability (to enable him to understand).' ὑπερορῶν is usually followed by the accusative, but it is found with the gen. in Xenophon and Plato. See critical appendix on Madvig's reading, ὑπερερῶν.

19. παρ' ἡλίκιαν, 'beyond his age' i.e. more than was natural at his years. Cf. Romul. c. 25 ἀφρόνως καὶ παρ' ἡλικίαν ἀπέτρεψε τοῖς πράγμασι κεχρῆσθαι, Fab. Max. c. 12 εὐρώσωτας παρ' ἡλικίαν (de seno), Mar. c. 45 μέθας δώρους καὶ παρ' ἡλικίαν.

§ 3. 20. δθεν] 'in consequence of which' referring to the former clause of the preceding sentence: i.e. because he did not learn *μονακή* etc. in the usual way. ἐν ταῖς γενθερόσι—διατριβαῖς] 'in well-mannered and refined society.'

διατριβαι are loci et congressus multorum et elegantium hominum, as in Aesch. c. Timarch. § 132 οὐ ἐν παλαιστραις καὶ διατριβαις γεγονεῖ, which Reiske translates comme un *honneur qui sait son monde*; § 159 p. 23, 2 μη καταλύει ἡνίκα εἶλον συμμερικάν αὐτοπέμψεις εἰς τὰς τῶν ἑλλήδων διατριβάς, de fals. leg. § 23 p. 51. 18 διατριβαι καὶ συνθέματα μερὸν ὑμῶν ἔλευθέριοι, ib. § 149 p. 48, 4 οὐκ ἀγενεῖς διατριβάς ἔχων ἄλλον ἐν γυμνασίοις διατρίψειν, c. Timarch. § 53 p. 8, 21 οὐκ ἐνοθέητος ἔστιν οὐδὲ βελτίστων διατριβών ἥψατο. Διατριβή is properly ‘a wearing away,’ esp. ‘a way of spending time,’ ‘occupation,’ hence either ‘entertainment,’ ‘pastime,’ or ‘serious employment.’ See below c. 29 § 5, and cf. Num. c. 4 p. 61 οὐ ἔστιν τὰς ἐν ἀστει διατριβάς, Dem. Erotic. § 56 p. 1418, 1 μη τὰς ἐπιπλαίους φύοντας καὶ διατριβάς ἀγαπάν, Aesch. c. Timarch. § 12 οὐκ ἀφαίνει διατριβάς διατρίψεις ἄλλον τὰς ἐκελχοταῖς μερὸμερα, Polyb. Hist. 10, 19, 5 ηδίστας τοῖς νέοις ἀπολαύσαις καὶ διατριβές τὰ τοιάντα περίχοι, Perikl. c. 16 ὡς (ἐπιτρόπος πλοῦτος) μῆτρας διελούμενος ἀφύσιος μήτρα τολλά πράγματα καὶ διατριβάς δοχολούμενό περίχοι, where, however, it rather signifies ‘loss of time,’ cf. 19, 1. In Alkib. c. 24 p. 204 C (*περιδέουσον*) διατριβάς ἔχοντα καὶ καταφύγουσαν πόλεμας it may mean ‘haunts,’ ‘places of diversion,’ ‘lounges,’ as also in Plato Euthyphr. c. 1 p. 2 A τὰς ἢ Δυκαίης καταλιπούσει διατριβάς; cf. Plint. de adul. et am. c. 19 p. 61 Λακαλεῖσθαι διατριβάς εὐδαιμόνας.

21. οὐδὲ τῶν πεπαιδεύσθαι δοκούντων. There is a certain degree of irony implied in *λεγομέναις*, as also in *δοκούντων*, which may mean either 'fancied themselves' or 'were reputed to be,' 'passed as.'

28. φορτικότερον,) (ἔλευθερος, ‘somewhat coarsely,’ ‘in vulgar style,’ like an uneducated man. The word φορτικὸς is properly ‘burdensome’ (φέρω, φόρτος), hence ‘tiresome,’ from which meaning it passed into that of ‘low,’ ‘wanting in liberal manners.’ ἀμύνεσθαι, ‘to retort.’ λέρων μὲν ἄρμόσασθαι, ‘to tune a lyre or play on (lit. ‘manage’) a harp.’ ψαλτήριον, although not properly identical with the κιθάρα, is here used for that instrument. The story recurs in Cim. c. ix, where Ion of Chios is praised by his fellow-banqueters as being δεξιώτερος Θεμιστοκλέους· ἐκείνους γὰρ ἁδειν πέντε οὐ φάσι μαθεῖν οὐδὲ κιθαρίζειν, τόδια δὲ τοιῆσαι μεγάλην καὶ πλούσιαν ἐπιστασθαι.

25. ἐπίστατο] Sintenis has ἐπίσταται. See G. § 243.
μηρὸν καὶ ἀδόξον are predicate adjectives to παραλαβών. G.
§ 138 E.

26. διπεργόσασθαι, *reddere, efficere*, so Xen. Oeon. xiv 6 πειρῶμαι δικαῖος ἀπεργάζεσθαι τοὺς οἰκέτας, Plat. de rep. ii c. 20 p. 881 εἶναι μῆ...τοὺς παῖδας ἀπεργάζωνται δειλοτέρους.

27. Στεσίμβροτος] Stesimbrotus of Thasos was one of the Ionic prose writers and a sophist contemporary with Ion. He is frequently quoted as an authority for gossiping anecdotes by Plutarch, who ranks him with the comic poets in his savage attacks on Pericles. A work of his on the mysteries (*religionis*) is quoted in the *Etymologicon Magnum*. He also wrote about Homer. See note on iv 4.

Αναξαγόρος] Anaxagoras, one of the early Greek physical philosophers, was born at Clazomenae in Ionia in Ol. 70, 1 = b.c. 500 and came to Athens in Ol. 81, 1 = b.c. 456, where he lived till about the beginning of the Peloponnesian war.

Being charged by the faction inimical to Pericles with atheism he left Athens in b.c. 431, and died three years afterwards at Lampsakus. He differed from his various predecessors in their attempts to explain the phenomena of nature, and assumed as the prime cause of motion a non-material cause, νοῦς = 'spirit,' to account for the harmony and order as well as composition of material nature, and thus opened the way to a philosophic adoption of the unity of God and the general idea of a divine providence, and led to the gradual abandonment of the habit of personifying natural objects. On his celebrated οὐμομέραια, see Lucretius de rer. nat. 830 ff. Mueller-Donaldson, Hist. Grk. lit. Vol. i p. 326 ff., Mahaffy, Grk. lit. Vol. ii p. 55 ff.

Σι-ακούσατ, 'was a hearer or disciple of,' cf. 29, 8, vit. Cicer. iv 1 ἀφικόμενος εἰς Ἀθήνας Ἀντιόχου διήκονος, an semi sit ger. resp. c. 18 p. 791 εἰς τὸν Καρνεάδον διήκονον, Pericl. 4, 8 διήκονος δὲ Περικλῆς καὶ Ζήνωνος τοῦ Ἐλεάτου.

28. περὶ Μέλισσον στουδάσαι, 'that he attended the lectures of Melissus.' Melissus, a native of Samos, was distinguished as being the general who resolutely defended his city against the Athenians in the war of Ol. 85. 1 = b.c. 440 and even defeated the Athenian fleet in the absence of Pericles. He, like Zeno, his fellow Eleatic, transferred the poetic philosophy of his great pantheist predecessor Parmenides into Ionic prose, Pericl. iv 8, xxvi.

29. τὸν φυσικὸν] *οἱ φυσικοὶ*, 'the physicists,' was a name given to the first (Ionic, Eleatic and Italian) philosophers, who

were wholly occupied in speculating on the origin and existence of things apart from phenomena. See L.S. Lex. s.v.

οὐκ εὖ τῶν χρόνων ἀπόμενος] ‘wrong as to dates,’ lit. ‘incorrectly handling the chronology,’ G. § 171, 1. Cf. Thuc. i 97, 2 τούτων ὅσπερ καὶ ἡψατο ἐν τῇ Ἀττικῇ ξυγγραφῇ, ‘Ελλάκος βραχέως τε καὶ τοῖς χρόνοις οὐκ ἀκριβῶς ἐπεμήσθη, v 26, 3 λογιζόμενος κατὰ τοὺς χρόνους.

30. *νεώτερος*] the exact date of his birth is not known.

3 1. Σαμίους] Pericl. 25 ff.

2. συνδέτριβε, was his constant companion.’ Isokr. ad Nikokl. § 8 p. 20 в флоус ετῶ μὴ μεθ’ ὧν ηδιστα διατρίψεις ἀλλὰ μεθ’ ὧν δριστα τὴν πόλιν διοκήσεις, Aesch. c. Tim. § 149 p. 21 περὶ τῶν διατριβῶν ἃς συνεδιέτριβον ἀλλήλους.

§ 2. μᾶλλον ἀν τις προσέχοι, ‘one would rather give heed to,’ ‘believe,’ G. § 226, 2.

3. τοῖς—λέγουσιν] the order is τοῖς λέγουσιν τὸν Θ. γενέσθαι γῆλατήρι Μηνοιφλον τοῦ Φρεαρρίου. Γῆλατήρι, i. q. μαθητήρι ‘zealous admirer,’ ‘follower.’ Lucian Demon. v. p. 391 c. 48 Ἀντισθένους καὶ Κράτητος καὶ Διογένους γῆλατήρις, Hermot. c. 14 p. 723. τοῦ Φρεαρρίου] above 1, 1.

5. τῶν φυσικῶν, as Anaxagoras and Melissus, 3, 27. For the gen. see G. § 168.

6. σοφίαν, i. e. moral and political philosophy, which was that of Solon and the other seven wise men except Thales, Sol. c. 3: the later wise men or, as they called themselves after the time of Protagoras, sophists, substituted for it either rhetoric and the art of persuasion in courts of justice (Gorgias) or dialectic (Protagoras).

ούσιαν, ‘which really was,’)(καλουμένην; the contrast would have been heightened if there had been a μὲν after καλουμένην.

7. δανότηρα, ‘insight,’ ‘cleverness,’ Pericl. iv 2. δραστήριον σύνετιν, ‘practical sagacity;’ ἐπιτίθενται, predicate accusative after πεποιημένου, G. § 166.

Θ. αἵρεσιν, 'sect,' 'school;' ἐκ διαδοχῆς, 'in unbroken succession,' as in the schools of philosophy. μὲν οὖν, 'so then:' the οὖν is resumptive, after the digression about Mnesiphilus; μὲν answers to the δὲ in the following clause. Cf. 7, 4.

οἱ μὲν ταῦτα] G. § 141, note 3.

§ 5. 12. ἡδη πολιτευόμενος, 'as soon as he had begun his political career.' Πολιτεύειν means 'to be a πολίτης,' πολιτεύεσθαι 'to take part in the government.'

13. ἐπλησταῖσαν] 'was his disciple.' Isocr. Antid. § 186 ἡγοῦμαι δὲ ὑμᾶς μᾶλλον ἀνέτι καταμαθεῖν τὴν δύναμιν αὐτῆς, εἰ διελθοῦμε τὰς ὑποσχέσεις δι ποιούμεθα πρὸς τοὺς πλησιάζειν ἡμῖν βουλομένους, Luc. Hermot. c. 80 p. 824 ἡκουσα ὑπὲρ φιλοσοφίας τεῦς λέγοντος ἀνδρὸς, φιλοσοφίας πάμπολοι τῶν νέων ἐπὶ σοφίᾳ πλησιάζοντοι, Plut. Demosth. c. 3 p. 846 καὶ τῶν δια φιλοσοφίας πλησιάζοντων.

14. δρμαῖς, 'impulses,' esp. such as are vehement and inconsiderate, 3, 1.

ἀστάθμητος, 'unsteady,' 'unstable,' properly 'which cannot be weighed;' Arist. Av. 169 ἀνθρώπος δρνις ἀστάθμητος πετόμενος, Dem. de f. 1. § 149, p. 383, 5 δ δῆμος ἔστιν ἀστάθμητάτον πρᾶγμα τῶν πάντων, Thuc. iv 62 τὸ ἀστάθμητον μέλλοντος ως ἐπὶ τῷ πλεῖστον κρατεῖ.

15. διτε τῇ φύσει καθ' αὐτήν χρώμενος, 'inasmuch as he followed his natural inclination only,' lit. 'by itself.' ἀνεν λόγου καὶ παιδείας=ἀλόγως καὶ ἀπαιδεύτως, 'without rational motive or control.'

16. ἐπ' ἀμφότερα, 'for good or for evil.'

17. ἔξισταρένη, a *natura sua* *desciscenti*, 'degenerating,' 'breaking out into vice.' Cf. Plutarch mor. p. 649 οὐδὲ Βαβυλῶνι φυτεύμενος (κισσός) ἔξιστατο καὶ ἀπηγόρευεν, Theophr. hist. pl. 6 ως ἐπὶ τὸ πολὺ ἔξιστασθαι (φασὶ δάφνην μεταφυτευομένην) καὶ οὐδὲ τὸ χρώμα διασώζειν, ib. 7 οἶνος ἔξιστάμενος ναρρα and Dem. p. 933, 25 (i p. 70 ed Paley-Sandys) ἔξιστηκέτος οἶνου, 'wine that has turned vapid.'

18. καὶ τοὺς τραχυτάτους, 'even so the roughest colts prove the best horses, when they get proper training.'

20. ἃς προσήκει] sc. τυχεῖν. Observe the transition in προσήκει and τύχειν to the direct discourse.

21. καταρπόσεις, ‘breaking in.’ Cf. Soph. Ant. 476 σφικρῷ χαλισῷ δ’ οἶδα τοὺς θυμονέρους ἵππους καταρπούθετας, Plato legg. viii c. 14 p. 803 D ὅση μάλιστα ἔχει πετρῷ τοῖς φρονεῖς μάτια καταρπούμενην, Plut. de aud. poet. c. 2 p. 38 c τὰς ἐφ' ἡδωνὴς ὄρδας...ἄλλες ἐφ' τις ἀφέτονται, γέ τε φίκασι, χωρέν, καὶ μὴ λόγιοις χρηστοῖς ἀφαιρῶν καταρπύζειν φίσιν. Athenaeus after Idomeneus tells a story of Themistocles’ extravagance; see his Deipnosophists xii 533 b, and cf. below c. 3 § 3 and moral. p. 184 F.

§ 6. ἀ τούτων ἔξαρτῶν ἔναι, ‘as for what some connect with these peculiarities.’ Διηγήματα πλάττοντες, ‘fabricating stories,’ anticipates the judgment pronounced in the next clause.

22. δικαιόρεμέν ὑπὸ τοῦ πατρὸς αὐτοῦ, ‘the solemn renunciation of him by his father, declared by the herald’s voice.’ Cf. Alcib. 3, 1 βουλεύεται δὲ αὐτὸν ἀποκηρύσσειν Ἀρίφρων Περιλῆτης εἰς εἰσαγ., i.e. publica auctoritate abdicare, Thomas Magister, p. 95 ἀποκηρύκεται: δὲ ἐτί ἀδικήματι ἀβλαφεῖς τῆς εἰδίας παρὰ τοῦ πατρὸς μετὰ ψήφου διαστυπάτη.

The writer of the article on ἀποκηρύξις in Dict. of Antiq. p. 103 ed. 2 says that it is not mentioned by any of the orators or the older writers and that therefore it could rarely have taken place. But see Demosth. πρὸς Βοιωτὸν περὶ τοῦ ὀνόματος § 39 p. 1006, 21 ὁ νόμος...τοὺς γονέας ποιεῖ κυρίους οὐ μάτιον θέσθει τούτοις εἰς ἄφετον, ἀλλὰ καὶ τὸν ἔχαλεψιν βούλασθαι καὶ αἴτοκηρυξει and cf. Plato de legg. xi c. 9 p. 928 D σι πατέρες ἥγανται’ ἀ δεῖ τὸν ποιοθέτην ποιοθετεῖν, ἔχεινει σφίσιν, ἐάντι βούλασθαι, τὸν μὲν ὑπὸ κύρκους ἐναντίον ἀπέτακτον μὲν κατὰ ράρον μηδέτ’ εἴησι i.e. ‘to disclaim a son, so that he should no longer be legally such,’ ib. p. 929 c πείστη καὶ κατὰ ταῦτα ἔξεστω τῷ πατρὶ τὸν μὲν ἀποκηρύσσειν, ἐλλας δὲ μηδαμός. Lucian in his Ἀποκηρυττόμενος tells us that substantial reasons were required to insure the ratification of such extraordinary severity. The process was not unknown to the Romans, as is shewn by Spalding on Quintil. Inst. iii 6, 96, where a law is

quoted: *abdicatus ne quid de bonis patriis capiat.* As to the story itself Plutarch's doubts are justified on good grounds, notwithstanding the agreement of later writers, as Nepos c. 2 *quod et liberius vivebat et rem familiarem neglegebatur, a patre exheredatus est*, the renunciation of course implying disinheritance. Notice the use of the genitive of the agent with ὑπὸ after the verbal substantive, cf. Plato Rep. II c. 17, p. 378 Λ τὰ τοῦ Κρόνου ἔργα καὶ ταθήματα ὑπὸ τοῦ νικέος = δὲ πασχε ὑπὸ τοῦ νικέος, III c. 4 p. 390 σ. 'Αρεώς τε καὶ 'Αφροδίτης ὑπὸ 'Ηφαίστου δεσμός, Phaed. § 110 p. 99 B δινην περιτιθεις τὴν ὑπὸ ντὸν τοῦ οὐρανοῦ, i.e. *vorticem qui a caelo fit.*

24. ἐπὶ τῷ τ. π. διημίᾳ] 'at, because of, her son's disgrace;' cf. 7, 8; 21, 8; 24, 3. περιλέπου γενομάντης] G. § 277, 2 or 6.

25. θοκέτ, 'are thought,' 'generally believed,' 3, 2. G. § 185, 2. καταψύσθαι, sc. αὐτοῦ, *ficta esse de eo*, 'to have been alleged falsely about him,' cf. Plat. Phaed. p. 85 Λ οἱ ἀνθρώποι ...καὶ τῶν κύκων καταψύσδονται, de legg. VII p. 821 καταψύευδόμεθα μῦν...'Ελλῆνες πάντες μεγάλων θεῶν. . . . καὶ τοσδυνατόν, 'on the contrary,' 'on the opposite side of the question.' Plutarch appeals to another anecdote, which presupposes a friendly relation between father and son at this period also.

26. τὸ κοινὰ πράττειν=πολιτεύεσθαι. διοπρέπειν 'by way of discouraging,' 'deterring him from.' On the absence of the article *τοῦ* before πράττειν cf. Xen. Comm. IV 7, 8 τῶν οὐρανίων φροντιστὴρ γιγνεσθαι ἀπέτρεπεν, Lucian Iup. conf. c. 6 ἀποτρέποντες καὶ τοὺς ἄλλους θύειν καὶ εὐχεσθαι, dialog. deor. v 5 οὐδὲ οἱ σπινθῆρες...διπέτρεπόν σε μή οὐχὶ πίνειν παρ' αὐτοῦ. See G. § 260, 1; § 263, 1.

27. ὁ πατήρ] G. § 141 n. 2. ἐπεδείκνυε, 'used to point out,' 17, 2. πρὸς τῷ θαλάσσῃ] 'on the beach.'

28. ἵρριμένας, predicate participle, *abiecas, derelictas, abandoned.* See index s. v. *βίττω*. παρορμένας, the old reading was παρεωρμένας for which Cobet suggests παρεωμένας, referring to his *Var. Lect.* p. 160 for instances of the interchange of the two words in MSS. οὐδὲ διῇ] The

ws, to which δt adds further subjectivity, shows that δμος ἔχόντων gives the cause assigned by Themistokles' father for his action. Cf. 4, 3 l. 26.

29. δημαρχούσθε, here used in neutral sense, 'statesmen.' δταν δχρηστοι φάνενται, sc. δντες, 'whenever they shew themselves to be unserviceable.'

30. τῶν πολλῶν, 'the many,' i.e. the people. δμος ἔχόντων, 'were disposed alike,' 'felt in like manner towards.' ἔχειν is often joined to an adverb of manner in the sense of 'to be,' cf. 29, 4 δπαραιτήτως ἔχειν. Professor Nichol, *Death of Themistocles* p. 9, makes his hero tell the story thus:—

Twas in my twentieth year,
that, by the Ilissus, Neocles and I
walked to the shore at sunset, when the Pnyx
murmured with surges of the evil news,
that Artaphernes, brother of the king,
sagest of Medes, at Ladē, had o'erwhelmed
Miletus and our kindred of the isles—
in that full spring of life, when all the world
seems to an eager dream a ready spoil;
'When I am chief in Athens,' I exclaimed,
'we shall efface disaster.' Neocles
smiled, till, as we went pacing by the tide,
he broke in speech; 'So you are born to rule
and are ambition haunted: see the end'—
He pointed to a battered hulk that lay
with yawning rents more ghastly by each wave—
'I saw this galley crowned with myrtle boughs;
the swiftest in the war, it bore the gods
on its exultant bulwarks; now disused
it falls asunder, plank by plank, unknown.
So fare the favourites of an hour, the play
that made them princes on the stage being o'er,
and the crowd clamours they have served their turn,
cast like a ruined wreck or broken toy.'

CHAPTER III

4 § 1. 1. μέντοι, *tamen*, 'yet,' notwithstanding his youthful excesses and follies. ταχὺ καὶ νεανικῶς, *mature et strenue*, 'early in life and vigorously,' Plato Theaet. p. 168 c πάνυ γάρ νεανικῶς ('with spirit') τῷ ἀνδρὶ βεβοήθηκα, Plutarch Cat. c. 16 p. 766 σ ἐπιστὰς τοῖς πρόγμασι νεανικῶς, Ages. c. 11 p. 602 Λ ἐπειράτῳ νεανικῶς ἀπομάχεσθαι πρὸς τὴν ἐπιθυμίαν, Cic. c. 9 p. 865 Ε ἀδημητρόρησε νεανικῶς. ἄψασθαι τοῦ Θ., 'laid hold of Them.,' 'riveted his attention.' The inverse construction is more common, as in 25, 2 l. 17, Cato c. 8 p. 337 ε ἄψασθαι τῆς ἐν Ῥώμῃ πολιτείας.

8. κρατήσαι, 'mastered him.'

4. εὐθὺς ἐξ ἀρχῆς, *statim ab initio*, ‘from the very first.’ A phrase of common occurrence in Plutarch, e.g. Ages. 1, 1 ὥστε τίτους εὐθὺς ἐξ ἀρχῆς δαμάσκομένους, Dion 7, 2, Alkib. 4, 2, Aem. Paul. 8, 8 οὐδεὶς ἐξ ἀρχῆς εὐθὺς μεγάλῳ παρανόμηματι κινεῖ τὴν πολιτείαν, Num. 8, 1, comp. Lyk. c. Num. 4, 4 εὐθὺς ἐξ ἀρχῆς πλαττόμενοι καὶ τυπώμενοι, Pomp. 1, 1, Lyk. 16, 1 τὸ μῆ καλῶς εὐθὺς ἐξ ἀρχῆς πρὸς εὐεξίαν καὶ βώμην πεφύκως, ibid. 18, 2 εὐθὺς ἐξ ἀρχῆς εἰθίσσοντο, Perikl. 81, 2, Lys. 2, 1, Tit. Flam. 4, 3, Philop. 1, 2. We find also εὐθὺς ἐν ἀρχῇ, as Pelop. 8, 4, Luk. 83, 8, Pelop. 8, 4, Marc. 29, 5. τοῦ πρωτεύειν ἐψήμενος, ‘in his eagerness to hold the foremost place,’ G. § 141 n. 6, § 258.

5. *Ιταμώς*, 'boldly,' 'hastily,' 'eagerly,' 'rashly,' lit. 'in headlong fashion' (*εἵμι, ἵτης*). Cf. Cat. c. 23 p. 770 в οὐτως περιφανῶς καὶ *Ιταμώς* τοὺς κοινοὺς ἔξαρπάζων τολέμουν, Demetr. c. 11 p. 894 Κ *Ιταμώς* ὑποστὰς τὸν θύρυσον, de am. mult. c. 1 p. 93 в ἀτοκριναμένου *Ιταμώς* καὶ προχείρως, de san. praec. c. 11 p. 127 Τ βαδίζει *Ιταμώς* ἐπὶ τὴν συνήδειαν, Dem. de Chera, § 68 p. 106, 24 ἀνδρεύθερον τῶν *Ιταμώς* πολιτευομένων παρ' ὑμῖν ἐμαντὸν ἡγοῦμαι. οὐφίστατο τὰς διπεχθεῖας, subsistedat inimicitias, 'encountered the enmity of.' Thuc. VIII 68, 3 ἐπειδή— υέστη τὰ δευτά, Plut. de aud. poet. c. 11 p. 82 οἱ φίστα-

σθαι τοὺς κινδύνους, consol. ad Apoll. c. 33 p. 118 c τοὺς ἐπὶ τοῖς νιοῖς γενομένους θανάτους πρώτως ὑποστάντας.

7. 'Αριστείδην] short for τὴν πρὸς Ἀριστείδην. Cobet l.c. would read πρὸς Ἀριστείδην.

8. τὴν ἐναντίαν, sc. δόδων. Σο μακρὰ 4, 1; τὴν ταχίστην 7, 2; 16, 2. αὐτῷ] G. § 186. πορευόμενον] cf. below l. 19 ἡραγκάζετο ἐναντιούσθαι (δὲ Ἀριστ.), Arist. c. 2, 4 Ἀριστείδης καθ' ἐαντὸν ὥστερ ὅδων ἰδίαν ἔβαδε διὰ τῆς πολιτείας, ib. 2, 1 Ἀριστείδης ἦψατο μὲν ἀριστοκρατικής πολιτείας, ἔσχε δὲ ἀτιτασσόμενον ὑπὲρ τοῦ δήμου Θεμιστοκλέα.

9. καίτοι, *quamquam*, 'though,' 'and yet,' introduces a remark limiting the previous statement, to show that variance of political sentiments was not the original cause of their animosity, 10, 5. παντάσσων—μερακιώδη, 'altogether puerile,' Sull. c. 4 p. 453 οὐδὲ ἔχθρα βραχεῖαν οὔτε καὶ μειρακιώδη λαβῶντα τὴν πρώτην ἀρχὴν, Alex. c. 31 p. 633 οὐ μειρακιώδη καὶ κενὴ ἀσκρισιν, Crass. c. 16 p. 553 οὐ πρὸς τοὺς συνθέτους τολλὰ κενὰ καὶ μειρακιώδη λέγειν, Num. c. 8 p. 65 οὐ μειρακιώδους φιλοσεικίας, Arist. c. 8 p. 323 οὐ τὴν κενὴν καὶ μειρακιώδη στάσιν ἀφέντες, Plat. de rep. c. 13, p. 466 οὐ ἀνόητός τε καὶ μειρακιώδης δόξα. οὐ πρὸς τοῦτον ἔχθρα] G. § 141 note 8.

§ 2. 11. Στησιλᾶς] Stesilaus. G. § 171, 2. Κέον, a native of Keos, which was an island in the Mare Myrtoum not far from Cape Sunium, famous as the birth-place of Simonides the poet and Prodigus the Sophist. Ariston himself was a native of the island, Aristeid. 2, 3 Ἀριστείδης δὲ Κεῖος εἶχε ἐρωτικῆς ἀρχῆς γενέσθαι φησι τὴν ἔχθράν.

γένος] G. § 160, 1.

12. 'Αριστεύς] Ariston of Keos (not to be confounded with Ariston of Chios, ἐπικαλούμενος Σείρην, Diog. Laert. vii § 160 ff., who was a Stoic) succeeded Lykon as head of the Peripatetic school about B.C. 230,

He was according to Cicero de fin. v 5, 18 a man of taste and elegance, but without the earnestness of a true philosopher (*conciusus et elegans: sed ea quae desideratur a magno philosopho gravitas in eo non fuit; scripta sane et multa et polita, sed nescio quo pacto*

auctoritatem oratio non habet). In his de sen. § 3 Cic. speaks of him slightly for giving Tithonus the chief part in a dialogue on old age. Besides this work he appears to be the author of one called ἴρωτικαὶ διατριβαὶ, quoted once or twice by Athenaeus under the title of ἴρωτικά δύοις, and another inscribed Λύκων out of gratitude to his master (Plut. de aud. poet. c. 1, p. 14 F).

Ιστόρηκεν, *memoriae prodidit*, 'has recorded,' frequently used in this sense by Plutarch and later writers, but never so in earlier Greek. See n. to 1, 8 l. 21. ἐκ τούτου, 'from that time,' thenceforward.'

13. θιετλονοῦ-στασιδίοντες, 81, 4. G. § 279, 1; 4 note.

14. οὐ μήν δὲλλα, 'not but what,' lit. this was not, however, the only ground, but &c. Cf. 5, 4.

15. Μουκεν, a weaker expression than φαίνεται, but objective and not subjective like δοκεῖ. αὐξῆσα τὴν διαφορὰν, 'widened the breach.'

16. πρός, 'placable,' 'gentle') (*βιαιος*. καλοκαγαθὸς (G. § 129, 18 (b)), 'inclined to καλοκαγαθία' (c. 12 § 8) i.e. the conduct and character of καλοκαγαθοί, which was originally a party name = Lat. *optimates*, *boni viri* 'the nobles' or 'conservatives' in opp. to the mass of the people or radicals. τὸν πρόπον] parallel, not opposed, to τῇ φύσει, G. § 188, 1 note 1, § 160, 1.

17. πρὸς χάριν, 'with an eye to popularity.' Cf. Fab. Max. c. 20 πρὸς χάριν τὰς τίμας νέμειν, Lucull. c. 5 ἡ κρατῶν τότε τῆς πολιτείας τῷ πρὸς χάριν ἀπαντα καὶ λέγειν καὶ πράττειν — #χθραν εἰχε, comp. Alk. c. Coriol. 1 ἐν τῷ πρὸς χάριν ὅμιλεν τοῖς πολλοῖς, Thes. c. 82 πρὸς χάριν δχλψ διαλέγεσθαι, Mar. c. 28 τῆς ἔκτης ὑπατείας ὠρέγετο—πρὸς χάριν ἐνδιδόντες τοῖς πολλοῖς, Diodor. Sic. XIII. 101 οἱ πρὸς χάριν δημητροῦντες, i.e. ad gratiam plebis captandam. See Index s. v. πρός.

18. ἀπὸ τοῦ βελτίστου, making the highest good of the state his point of departure. Cf. Perikl. 15, 1 χρώμενος αὐτῇ (sc. τῇ ἀριστοκρατικῇ πολιτείᾳ) πρὸς τὸ βέλτιστον.

19. μετὰ δοφαλείας] constanter, 'with firmness of purpose,' as opposed to rash innovation (*κίνησις*). The contrast [redacted] between the aristocratical and conservative leanings of Aris-

teides and the democratical sentiments of Themistokles is more clearly indicated in Aristeid. c. 2.

20. ἡτὶ πολλὰ κινοῦσσι] *ad multa incitanti*, ‘trying to engage the people in many new schemes,’ cf. Arist. c. 8, 1 πολλὰ κινουμένου τοῦ Θεμοτοκλήτου παρβόλως, where the meaning is ‘causing many things to be reformed,’ as in Herod. III 80, ρομίκα κινεῖ πάτρα, Xen. Ages. I 37 διὸ τὸ τὸ πολιτεῖας κινηθῆναι, Polybius Hist. II 21, 3; IV 14, 4; 81, 1 τὰ καθεστῶτα κινεῖν. Polybius also uses κινητής for ‘a seditious person,’ ‘revolutionist,’ xxviii, 17, 12.

21. μεγάλας ἐπιφρόντι καινοτομίας' [introducing startling reforms.] Cf. Plat. de legg. xii c. 5 p. 949 ε καινοτομίας ἀλλήλοις ἐμποιήσων ξένων ξένοις, Plut. Solon c. 15 p. 86 εώς ἐπήγαγεν λατρεῖαν οὐδὲ καινοτομίαν, Polyb. 13, 1, 2 οἰκεῖος διακέμενος τρόπος καινοτομίαν τῆς οἰκείας τοιτελεῖας, 35, 2, 8 ἔτοιμος τάντας τρόπος καινοτομίαν ποιήσων. The primary meaning of καινοτομεῖν is 'to make a fresh cut;' it was familiar as a mining term 'to open a new vein,' see Böckh, Public Econ. of Ath. p. 635.

22. ἵσταμενος τρὸς, 'standing in the way of,' 'resisting.'
 7, 1. Cf. quaest. Rom. 81 p. 283 Β ἵστηται τρὸς δύναμις
 δρχούστος, adv. Colot. 23 p. 1120 Β τρὸς τὴν συγκέντειαν ἵστα-
 μενος. The dative is more usual, as in Romul. 25, 1 ἕρ-
 στασθαι τῇ αἰξήσει καὶ κολοκεῖ τῷ Ρώμῳ, Thuc. VIII 69 ἦ-
 τις ἕριστήται τῷ πουνδρέοις, Polyb. II 46, 4 ἕριστασθαι ταῖς
 τῷ Δακεδαμοφίᾳ ἕπιβολαῖς.

§ 3. λέγεται γάρ] in ref. to πολλὰ κεροῦται.

28. παράφορος πρὸς δόξαν, 'recklessly eager for glory,' 'madly ambitious.' The word properly means 'borne or wandering away from,' as in Plat. Soph. 228 σ παραφέροντι ξησέως γεγομένης ψυχῆς, hence abs. 'deranged,' 'frenzied,' as in Plut. Artox. c. 1 μίθιστος ἀπιδάνειος καὶ παραφέροντος, c. 5 ὃς γάρ ἔτοκουφος καὶ παράφορος, Dion c. 2 p. 958 ε παρα-
φέροντος δι αἰσθέτεας ἀθρώποις.

24. ὑπὸ φιλοτυπίας] 2, 6 l. 23 n. ἐραστής, amans,
studiosus. ‘passionately fond of,’ cf. Plato Phaedr. p. 253 D

τιμῆς ἔραστής, Rep. vii p. 521 οἱ ἔραστὰς τοῦ δρχειν, Xen. Cyr. i 5, 12 τοὺς ἐπαίνων ἔραστάς, Soph. 601 ἔραστής τῆσδε τῆς γνώμης, Eur. Herakl. 377 ὁ πολέμων ἔραστά, Herod. iii 58, 5 πολλοὶ αὐτῆς (τῆς τυραννίδος) ἔρασται εἰσι, Plut. Cam. c. 25 p. 141 οἱ δόξης καὶ τιμῆς ἔραστής.

[στε] the anecdote assumes, according to this presentation of it, that Themistokles was still a youth in B.C. 490, and that his wild life lasted till then. But the fact is that he was archon in B.C. 493 and had already devised the fortification of the Peiraeus. Cicero Tusc. iv 19, 44 gives a better version of the anecdote: *noctu ambulabat Themistocles, quod somnum capere non posset, quaerentibusque respondebat, Miltiadis tropaeis se somno suscitarī.*

25. *τῷ Μαραθῶνι* Aristophanes (Ach. 699, Eq. 781, 1844, Vesp. 711, Thesm. 807) uses the dative *Μαραθῶνι* simply, G. § 120 n. 1. Marathon, the scene of the famous battle between the Persians and Athenians in B.C. 490, was a demos of the tribe Leontis near a bay on the E. coast of Attica.

27. *διαβοηθέσης*, ‘when the generalship of Miltiades was the common talk.’ Plut. de Herod. malign. 89, 14 p. 871 Λ διεβοήθη τὸ πρᾶγμα, Perikl. c. 19 p. 163 σ διεβοήθη πρὸς τοὺς ἑκτὸς ἀνθρώπους, Lucian Men. 6, 403 σφόδρα ἐπὶ συνέσει διαβεβοημένων.

σύννοος—πρὸς ἑαυτῷ, ‘rapt in deep thought,’ 2, 1 l. 10 λόγους συνταττόμενος πρὸς ἑαυτὸν. τὰ πολλὰ, plerumque, ‘commonly,’ G. § 100, 2.

28. *τὰς νύκτας*] G. § 161. τοὺς πότους παραιτεῖσθαι τοὺς συνήδεις] Blass takes this to be the double accusative: ‘refused the invitation of his companions to drinking parties;’ but why not ‘declined his customary drinking bouts?’ cf. Plut. pol. praec. p. 812 σ ἀπέστησε τῶν πότων καὶ τῶν κώμων ἑαυτῷ.

29. *παραιτεῖσθαι*, *deprecari*, *recusare*, *aversari*, ‘to decline,’ ‘to beg to be excused:’ cf. Plut. apoth. regg. p. 207 εἰς τὰ μετεύόμενα ὥστε τὴν ἡμέραν ἐκείνην παραιτήσασθαι τὸ δεῖπνον, Plat. Protag. p. 358 η τὴν δὲ Προδίκου διαιρεσιν τῶν ἐρομάτων παραιτοῦμαι.

30. τὴν περὶ τὸν βίον μεταβολὴν, for τὴν τοῦ βίου μεταβολὴν. Cf. Cleom. 18, 2 ἐπειθόντο τούτον αἴτιον γίγνεσθαι τῆς περὶ τὸν Σπαρτιάτας μεταβολῆς, consol. ad Apoll. c. 2 η̄ περὶ σε διάθεσις, ib. c. 33 τὴν περὶ τὸν υἱὸν τελευτὴν, c. 37 τῆς περὶ τὸ σῶμα καὶ τὴν ψυχὴν κακώσεως, Lys. or. in Philon. p. 871 τὴν περὶ αὐτὸν κακίαν, i.e. *ipsius malitiam*. See Schömann on Plut. Cleom. p. 230.

5 § 4. 1. ὡς—οὐκ ἔφη] ‘that—it prevented him,’ G. § 243. The story is told elsewhere by Plutarch, Moral. p. 184 F, Θεμιστοκλῆς ἔτι μειράκιον ὃν ἐν πότοις ἐκυλινθέντο καὶ γυναιξίν-ἔπει δὲ Μιλτιάδης στρατηγῶν ἐνίκησεν ἐν Μαραθῶνι τοὺς Βαρ-βάρους, οὐκ ἔτι ἦν ἐντυχεῖν ἀτακτοῦντι Θεμιστοκλεῖ· πρὸς δὲ τοὺς θαυμάζοντας τὴν μεταβολὴν ἔλεγεν ὡς οὐκ ἔῃ με καθεύ-δειν οὐδὲ φανυμένιν τὸ Μιλτιάδου τρόπαιον.

2. πέρας—δρχὴν] predicate nouns, and so without the article, G. § 141 n. 8.

6. [ἡλιφε] = ἐγύμναζε, 1 § 3; so ἀλειπτῆς which is properly ‘a trainer and teacher in a gymnastic school’ is used metaph. of ‘a teacher,’ Pericl. 4, 2 τῷ δὲ Περικλεῖ συνήρα καθά-περ ἀλητῇ τῷ πολιτικῷ ἀλειπτῆς καὶ διδάσκαλος.

Similarly ἀποδίεσθαι from its meaning ‘to strip for gym-nastic exercises’ came to be used metaphorically of ‘preparing for any thing requiring effort;’ Demosth. c. 6 Δημοσθένει τὸ πρώτον ἀποδύντι πρὸς τὸ λέγειν, praecl. r. p. g. c. 15 οἱ πρὸς πᾶσαν ἀποδύσμενοι πολιτικὴν πρᾶξιν, Agis c. 6 οἱ νέας συνα-πεδύσαντο πρὸς τὴν ἀρετὴν, una cum eo se accinxerunt ad virtutem capessendam, de amic. mult. c. 3 φίλους πολλοὺς εἰς ἀγώνα πάσης τύχης συναποδύσομένους.

ἢσκαι] another metaphor borrowed from the palaestra.

πόρρωθεν ἔτι, for ἔτι πόρρωθεν to avoid the hiatus. Sintenis reads πόρρωθεν ἥδη.

CHAPTER IV

§ 1. 8. καὶ, like ac or atque, often introduces a state-ment emphatically. πρῶτον μὲν is correlative to ἐκ δὲ τού-του § 3 l. 24. τὴν Δανρεωτικὴν πρόσοδον, *pecuniam pub-*

licam quae ex metallis redibat (Nepos c. 2), ‘the income from Laurium.’

The silver mines of Laurion (*Λαύρεια* or *Δαύρια*) were situated in the south of Attica not far from the promontory of Sunium, amidst a district of low hills extending across the space between the eastern sea at Thorikus and the western at Anaphystus. It was the possession of these mines which contributed so much to the prosperity of the state (Arist. Vesp. 657 sqq.). The revenue from them was originally distributed among the citizens, so that every person whose name was in the register (*ληξιαρχικὸν γραμματεῖον*) was entitled to his portion. Themistokles prevailed upon the people to forego the promised distribution for the purpose of obtaining an efficient navy in the war against Aegina about B.C. 488. See Herod. VII c. 144 ἐμέλλον λαζασθαι ὄρχηδων (*sortiri viritum*) ἵκαστος δέκα δραχμάς τότε Θεμιστοκλές ἀνέγνωσε (*persuasit*) Ἀθηναῖον, τῆς διαιρέσιος ταῦτης παναμένουσον, νέας τούτων τῶν χρημάτων ποιήσασθαι διηκοσίας ἐς τὸν πόλεμον τὸν πρὸς Αἰγαίνητα.

9. οὗτος ἔχειντων, = εἰλωθέτων.

10. διαιρέσθαι, ‘to divide amongst themselves,’ G. § 199, 2.

11. παρελθάνεις τὸν δῆμον, ‘coming forward to speak before the people.’ Παρένεις and παρελθέν were technical terms in this sense, below 17, 2, Thuk. v. 45 ἐς τὸν δῆμον παρελθόντες. Hence Demosth. περὶ συνταξ. § 14, p. 170, 6 calls ‘the speakers’ οἱ παρεόντες.

12. ἐκ τῶν χρημάτων τούτων, ‘out of this money,’ like δπὸ § 2, 1. 23, the means being considered as the starting-point, 81, 1 l. 16.

14. ἐπὶ τὸν πρὸς Αἰγαίνητας πόλεμον, ‘for the purpose of the war with the people of Aegina.’ See Herod. v 81 ff., vi 87 ff. ἥκμαζε, ‘was at its height,’ so below, 24, 2, Thuk. III 3 τοῦ πολέμου ἀκμάζοντος, Plutarch Anton. c. 32 ἀκμαζόντης τῆς συνουσίας. Cf. Herod. VII 145 ὁ δὲ ὡν μέγιστος (πόλεμος ἦν) Ἀθηναῖοι τε καὶ Αἰγαίνητοι.

16. κατέδχον—τὴν θάλασσαν = ἐθαλασσοκράτουν, ‘were masters of the sea,’ Cio. pro leg. Man. § 54 *civitas Atheniensium, quae satis late quondam mare tenuisse dicitur.*

§ 2. 17. ὃ καὶ φέον, *quare etiam facilius*, ‘wherefore all the more easily,’ Thuk. II 2, 3. Cf. ὃ καὶ μᾶλλον, Thuk. I 11, 25, 4, III 18, 8, IV 1, 2, 103, 2.

18. μικρὸν] 3, 1, 1. 7 n.

19. οὐ πάντα, not in its usual sense of *omniō non* ‘altogether not,’ ‘not at all,’ ‘by no means,’ but ‘not altogether,’ ‘not absolutely,’ for there was a general apprehension of such an invasion, τοῦ βαρβάρου προσδοκίμου δότος Thuc. i 14. The meaning of οὐ πάντα has been thoroughly discussed by Cope, Appendix Note C to his translation of Plato’s *Gorgias*, p. 189 ff. ἐς ἀφέδόμενοι] G. § 277 n. 2. Cf. 14, 2; 22, 1; 29, 1.

20. ἐπισείων, ‘shaking at them,’ as a scarecrow or bugbear, cf. Aem. Paul. c. 18 ρομφαλας ἐπισειοντες, Lucian dial. deor. II 2 μὴ ἐπισειε την αγίδα, xix 1 ἐπισειονσα τὸν λόφον ἐκπλήγτει με, Hom. Il. IV 166 ὅτ' ἀν Ζεύς—αὐτὸς ἐπισειεγοιν (*incutiat*) ἐρεμηντὴν αγίδα πᾶσιν.

21. ἀποχρησάμενος, abusus, ‘using for some other than the pretended object.’ Cf. Plut. ep. Alk. c. Coriol. c. 2 διωχρωμένων μᾶλλον ἢ χρωμένων αὐτῷ. See n. on 28, 2.

22. ἑκατόν] 200 according to Herodotus; Corn. Nepos 2, 2 and Polyaenus 1, 30 agree with Plutarch.

24. αἱ καὶ, ‘which in fact.’ ἔναντι μάχησαν, ‘fought,’ the meaning of ναῖς, as in ναυαρχεῖν c. 12, being otiose.

§ 3. ἡκ δὲ τούτου, post hoc, ‘after this,’ answering to πρῶτου μὲν § 1. Cf. 19, 2; in 20, 2 it means propter hoc, ‘because of this.’

25. κατὰ μικρὸν, ‘little by little,’ ‘gradually,’ G. § 191, IV 2 (2) (c). ὑπάγων, inducens, ‘leading them on slowly,’ ‘luring them on,’ as in Herod. VIII 106 οἱ (θεοι) σε ποιήσαντα ὄνταια ὑπήγαγον ἐς χέρας τὰς ἐμάς, ib. IX 94, Xen. Cyr. I 6, 37 τοὺς πολεμίους ἐς δυσχωρίαν φυγῇ ὑπαγαγόντες, ib. III 2, 8.

26. ὡς, subjectively, ‘because, as he said, they were,’ G. § 277 n. 2. τὰ πεζὰ] G. § 160, 1. Cobet thinks the true reading is τῷ πεζῷ μὲν, *terrestribus quidem copiis*.

οὐδὲ τοῖς ὁμόροις, *ne conterminis quidem populis*, ‘not even for the neighbouring states.’

27. οὐτας] sc. τοὺς πολίτας, implied in the preceding πόλιν.

28. ἀμύνασθαι, aor. inf., said of a single expected event, ἄρχειν, imperf. infinitive, of a permanent state of things.

30. ὡς φησιν δὲ Πλάτων] de legg. iv 706 b, where, though Themistokles is not mentioned by name, Plato censures the innovations introduced by him, regarding, as he does, the land service as a type of steadiness and inflexible ranks, the sea-service as one of mutability and adventure, ἐτι γὰρ ἀν πλεονάκις ἐπτὰ ἀπολέσαι πᾶδας αὐτοῖς συνήρεγκε, πρὶν ἀντὶ πεζῶν ὁ πλιτῶν μονιμών (statariorum) ναυτικούς γενομένους ἐθισθῆναι πυκνὰ ἀποπηδῶντας δρομικῶς εἰς τὰς ναῦς ταχὺ πάλιν ἀποχωρεῖν καὶ δοκεῖν μηδὲν αἰσχρὸν ποιεῖν, μὴ τολμῶντας ἀποθησκειν μένοντας ἐπιφερομένων πολεμίων, ἀλλ᾽ εἰκατας αὐτοῖς γλυγεσθαι προφάσεις ὅπλα τε ἀπολλόντι καὶ φεύγοντι δῆ τινας οὐκ αἰσχράς, ὡς φασι, φυγάς. This passage is again referred to by Plutarch, Philop. c. 14 p. 863 γ' Ἐπαμυνώνταν λέγουσιν δύκυντα γεῦσαι τῶν κατὰ θάλασσαν ὥφελειῶν τοὺς πολίτας, δῆτος αὐτῷ μὴ λάθωσιν ἀντὶ μονιμών διπλιτῶν κατὰ Πλάτωνα ναῦται γενόμενοι καὶ διαφθαρέντες, ἀπράκτον ἐκ τῆς Ἀστας καὶ τῶν νήσων ἀπελθεῖν ἔκουσιως. Grote observes that Plato does not render justice to the Athenian seaman, whose training was far more perfect and laborious and his habit of obedience far more complete than that of the Athenian hoplite or horseman.

6 **1.** θιασολήν—πάρεσχεν, ‘furnished occasion for a charge against himself.’ ὡς δρά] the δρά is not epexegetic, ‘namely,’ but ironical, implying a contemptuous feeling for the statement.

2. τῶν πολιτῶν παρελόμενος, ‘taking away from the citizens,’ G. § 174. Cf. Xen. Hell. II 8, 20 τὰ δπλα πάντων παρεῖλοντο, Symp. IV 40 εἰ μού τις καὶ τὰ νῦν διατητα παρέλοιτο, Mem. I 6, 1 τοὺς συνουσιαστὰς αὐτοῦ (ab eo) παρελέσθαι.

3. εἰς ὑπηρέσιον καὶ κάπην, i.e. to rower's service. ὑπηρέσιον=‘the rower's cushion’ (τὸ κώας φὲ ἐπικάθηται οἱ ἔρεσσοντες διὰ τὸ μὴ συντρίβεσθαι αὐτῶν τὰς πυγὰς. Schol. ad Thuc. II 93): cf. Arist. Eq. 785, Isocr. de pace p. 169 α τότε μὲν εἰ τρήψεις πληρῶν, τοὺς μὲν ξένους καὶ τοὺς δούλους πάντας εἰσεβιβαζον, τοὺς δὲ πολίτας μεθ' ὅπλων ἐξεπέμπον. νῦν δὲ

τοῖς μὲν ἔροις ὀπλίταις χρώμεθα, τοῖς δὲ πολίταις ἐλαύνειρ ἀραγκάδομεν, ὡσθ' ὅπεραν ἀποβαίνωσι εἰς τὴν τῶν πολεμίων, οἱ μὲν δρχειν τῶν Ἑλλήρων ἀξιώντες ὑπηρέσιον ἔχοντες ἐκβαίνουσιν, οἱ δὲ ποιῶντος τὰς φύσεις ὄντες, οἵοις ὀλίγῳ πρότερον διῆλθον, μεθ' ὅπλων κυρδυνεῖσθαι.

4. συστένατε] συστέλλειν is 'to contract,' 'reduce to a small compass,' hence 'to fold up' below 29, 2. Cf. Dem. de cor. p. 310 § 246 ταῦτα (τὰ ἀμαρτήματα) εἰς ἐλάχιστον συστείλαται, Plato de legg. III c. 2 p. 691 εἰς τὴν βασιλέων γένεσιν εἰς τὸ μέτρον συνέστειλε, with the accessory notion of 'abasing,' 'humbling,' Plut. Cleom. c. 11, 2 συστελλομένων... εἰς τὴν εὐγενή καὶ λακωνική ἔκεινην διαιταν, ib. c. 13, 4 συσταλμένον δεῖσιν de cena parca et frugali.

§ 4. ἤπαξ, 'achieved,' 'carried out.'

5. κρατήσας ἀντιλέγοντος, 'after quelling his opposition in the ekklesia.'

ὡς ιστορεῖ Στεσίμβροτος] See n. to 1, 3 l. 21.

The work of Stesimbrotus of Thasos (2, 3, 1.27), to which Plutarch frequently refers, was probably the same as that quoted by Athenaeus XIII 589 by the title περὶ Θεμιστοκλέοντος καὶ Θουκυδίδεον καὶ Πειραιώντος. It appears to have been a sort of *Chronique scandaleuse* of these worthies, dealing mostly with anecdotes of their private life. Cf. below c. 24 and Perikl. c. 13, where Plutarch speaks of him in terms of disparagement. His ill-natured remarks about Kimon were no doubt occasioned by the part which that hero took in the siege of Stesimbrotus' native island.

6. αἴ μὲν δή, 'whether now he did (as Plato opines) hinder or not the nice adjustment and blemish the soundness of the constitution, let it be a subject for philosophers rather to consider.' Cf. Isoc. Areopag. p. 151 c μετὰ πολιτειᾶς ἀκριβεστέρας δημονῶν τὸν βίον διάγειν, ib. p. 147 εἰς τὰς ἀκριβεῖας τῶν νόμων where rather excessive strictness is implied, Thuc. VII 13, 3 τὴν ἀκριβειαν τοῦ γαντικοῦ i.e. 'the exact discipline,' Arian Anab. II 21, 9 ἀκριβέστατα πληρώματα, Plut. Cat. mai. c. 4 τῆς πολιτειᾶς τὸ καθαρὸν ὅπδ μεγέθους οὐ φαλαγγοῦσι.

7. δτι δὲ κτλ.] Plato I. c. p. 707 c will not allow the truth of this statement either: he contends that the battles of

licam quae ex metallis redibat (Nepos c. 2), ‘the income from Laurium.’

The silver mines of Laurion (*Λαυρίου* or *Λαύρια*) were situated in the south of Attica not far from the promontory of Sunium, amidst a district of low hills extending across the space between the eastern sea at Thorikus and the western at Anaphlystus. It was the possession of these mines which contributed so much to the prosperity of the state (Arist. Vesp. 657 sqq.). The revenue from them was originally distributed among the citizens, so that every person whose name was in the register (*ληξιαρχικός γραμματεῖον*) was entitled to his portion. Themistokles prevailed upon the people to forego the promised distribution for the purpose of obtaining an efficient navy in the war against Aegina about B.C. 488. See Herod. VII c. 144 ἐμέλλον λαζεσθαι δρχῆδων (*sortiri viridim*) ἔκστος δίκαια δραχμάς· τότε Θεμιστοκλῆς ανέγνωσε (*peresuasit*) Ἀθηναῖον, τῆς διαιρέσιος ταῦτης παναστάνους, μᾶς τούτων τῶν χρημάτων ποιήσασθαι διηκοσίας ἐς τὸν πόλεμον τὸν πρὸς Αἰγαίνητας.

9. οὗτος ἀχόντων, = εἰωθότων.

10. διανέμεσθαι, ‘to divide amongst themselves,’ G. § 199, 2.

11. παρελθόντες τὸν δῆμον, ‘coming forward to speak before the people.’ Παριέναι and παρελθεῖν were technical terms in this sense, below 17, 2, Thuk. v. 45 ἐς τὸν δῆμον παρελθόντες. Hence Demosth. περὶ συνταξ. § 14, p. 170, 6 calls ‘the speakers’ οἱ παριόντες.

12. ἐκ τῶν χρημάτων τούτων, ‘out of this money,’ like ἀπὸ § 2, l. 23, the means being considered as the starting-point, 31, 11. 16.

14. ἐπὶ τὸν πρὸς Αἰγαίνητας πόλεμον, ‘for the purpose of the war with the people of Aegina.’ See Herod. v 81 ff., vi 87 ff. ἦκμαζε, ‘was at its height,’ so below, 24, 2, Thuk. III 3 τοῦ πολέμου ἀκμάζοντος, Plutarch Anton. c. 32 ἀκμαζούσης τῆς συνουσίας. Cf. Herod. VII 145 δὲ ὁν μέγιστος (*πόλεμος* ἦν) Ἀθηναῖοι τε καὶ Αἰγαίνητοι.

16. καταίχον—τὴν θαλασσαν = ἐθαλασσοκράτους, ‘were masters of the sea,’ Cic. pro leg. Man. § 54 *civitas Atheniensium, quae satis late quondam mare tenuisse dicitur.*

§ 2. 17. ὃ καὶ φᾶσιν, *quare etiam facilius*, ‘wherefore all the more easily,’ Thuk. II 2, 3. Cf. ὃ καὶ μᾶλλον, Thuk. I 11, 22, 25, 4, III 18, 8, IV 1, 2, 103, 2.

3. [Ολυμπίαν] Olympia, the famous plain in Elis, where the Olympic games were celebrated. This anecdote may have arisen from Timokreon's (c. 21, 2) complaint that at the Isthmian games Themistokles entertained the visitors with stale viands (*Ισθμοῖ πανδοκεῖς γελοῖς γυγρὰ κρέα παρεῖχεν*).
διαιμιλλάδμενος, *contendens*.

The prep. δι has frequently the meaning of *certainty* in composition: thus διαθεῖν τιν 'to run a race with any one' Plat. Protag. p. 335 E, διατίνειν 'to drink against another' de rep. IV p. 420 D, διαβαττίζεσθαι 'to contend in foul language' Dem. p. 783, 15, διαβοᾶσθαι p. 806, διαρχεῖσθαι Arist. Vesp. 1412, διακοντίζεσθαι Xen. Cyr. 1, 4, 4, Theophr. Char. XXVII πρὸς τὸν ἐπονούμενον διακοντίζεσθαι καὶ διατοξεύεσθαι; Xen. Cyr. VII 5, 53, διαπυκτεύειν 'to have a boxing match.'

4. σκηνῆς, 'tents' or 'pavilions' richly furnished, which were necessary for the accommodation of visitors at the games. Cf. Alc. c. 12 σκηνὴν αὐτῷ (Alcibiadi) κεκοσμημένην διαπρεπῶς ἔστησαν Εφέσιοι. τὴν δὲ λλητὴ—παρασκευὴν, 'the general magnificence of his equipage.'

5. οὐκ ἡρεσκε, 'was not popular with.'

§ 3. 7. φόντο δέν, 'thought proper.' οἰεσθαι δέν means *necessere credere*, hence *propositum habere, velle*: so οὐκ οἰεσθαι δέν is *nolle, prohibere*. Buttmann Index Plat. dial. IV p. 222.

8. μήτω γνώριμος γεγονὼς, —ξτι ἀφανῆς ὡς 'since he had not yet become distinguished.' Observe the use of μή for οὐ, without any condition being implied, which is common enough in Plutarch but inadmissible in classical Greek. δοκῶν] 'being thought.' ξε σύχ ὑπερχόντων] 'with inadequate means.' Cf. n. to 4, 1 l. 12.

9. ταρφ δῆλαν, i.e. οὐ κατ' ἀξίαν, ὅπερ τὴν ἀξίαν 'beyond desert, 'unduly.' Cf. 2, 2 l. 19. προσωφλίσκανεν] 'got a character besides (i.e. τρόπος τῷ οὐκ ἀρέσκειν) for vulgar ostentation, pretentiousness.' The force of τρόπος would in Latin be best expressed by *ultra*.

10. ἐνέκρητε δὲ καὶ χορηγῶν] a further proof of his φιλοτιμία was that he obtained a prize 'as choragus.'

Salamis and Artemisium did not make the Athenians better than they were before, but that Marathon and Plataea did.

9. ή τότε] G. § 141 note 3.

10. ὑπῆρξε, 'fell to their lot,' 'accrued.' Thuc. vi 86, 4 δεδμενοι τὴν ὑπάρχουσαν ἀπ' ἀλλήλων ἀμφοτέρους (*σωτηρίαν*) μη προδιδόναι.

11. ἀνίστησαν, *iacentem excitarunt, exixerunt*, 'set up,' 'reinstated.' Cf. Alcib. c. 32 τὴν πόλιν—ἐκ λυτρῶν ἔτι λειψάνων ἀναστήσας, Arist. c. 10 τὴν τε πόλιν αὐτοῖς ἀναστήσειν ἐπαγγελλομένου, Kim. c. 16 Ἐπιάλτου κωλύοντος καὶ διαμαρτυρομένου μὴ βοηθεῖν μηδ' ἀνιστάναι πόλιν ἀντίπαλον ἐπὶ τὰς Ἀθήνας, H. F. 852 θεῶν ἀνέστησεν μόνος τυμὸς πιτνούσας ἀνοσίων ἀνδρῶν ὅποιοι. τὰ τ' ἄλλα καλ] 'besides other testimony also.'

12. ἁμαρτύρησε] Thuc. i 73, 3 τεκμήριον δὲ μέγιστον (sc. of the battle of Salamis being the salvation of Greece) αὐτὸς (Xerxes) ἐποίησε νικηθεὶς γάρ ταῖς ναυσὶν ὡς οὐκέτι αὐτῷ ὁμολαςσοῦσης τῆς δυνάμεως κατὰ τάχος τῷ πλέον τοῦ στρατοῦ ἀνεχώρησεν.

§ 5. 13. διαμενούστης] G. § 277, 5, § 278, 1.

14. ἀμποδῶν εἶναι] infinitive of purpose. G. § 265.

15. τῆς διάξεως] gen. after ἀμποδῶν, cf. Xen. Cyr. ii 4, 23 ἀποσοβούντες (ἀντούς) ἀμποδῶν ὃν γίγνωστο τοῦ μὴ ὄραν αὐτοὺς τὸ θλοι στράτευμα, ib. iii 1, 9, viii 5, 24 ἀμποδῶν ἀλλήλοις τολλῶν καὶ ἀγαθῶν ἔσεσθε, Hiero 8, 1 ἐπιθυμῶν φιλεῖσθαι ὥπ' ἀνθρώπων, ἀμποδῶν σοι τούτον νομίζεις αὐτὴν εἶναι, Hell. vi 5, 38 ἀμποδῶν γενέσθαι τοῦ ἀρξαι αὐτοὺς τῶν Ἑλλήνων, Eur. Suppl. 395 λόγων τις ἀμποδῶν δόδ' ἔρχεται. δουλωσόμενον] G. § 277, 3.

CHAPTER V

Before giving an account of the Persian war Plutarch, in his usual way, puts together a few character sketches and notices of Themistokles.

§ 1. 17. σύντονον χρηματιστήν, 'an eager money-maker,' not in a sordid way, but 'in the spirit of an ἐλευθέρος' liberaliter, or 'for the sake of liberality' that he might have the more to spend. Cf. Plato Theaet. c. 7, p. 144 D πρὸς τὴν τῶν χρημάτων ἔλευθεριστητα θαυμαστός.

18. καὶ γὰρ, not *etenim* but *nam et*, καὶ answering to the καὶ before λαμπρόν. Cf. Xen. Oecon. ν καὶ γὰρ ἐν τῷ χώρῳ καὶ ἐν τῷ δοτεῖ ἀεὶ ἐν ὕρᾳ αἱ ἐπικαιριώταται πράξεις εἰστιν, i.e. *nam tam in agris quam in urbe.* See Meineke n. to Menander p. 348.

19. φιλοθέτην δυτα, 'since he was fond of sacrificing,' Arist. Vespr. 82, Plut. quaest. conv. 111, 7 II p. 631 Δὸς εὐσεβῆς καὶ φιλοθέτης, Rom. c. 7 καὶ γὰρ ἡν φιλοθέτης καὶ μαντικὸς Πάμυλος. Sacrifices are enumerated by Aristotle (Ethic. VIII 9) and Thucyd. II 38 among the chief means of social enjoyment, as they were mostly accompanied by the entertainment of friends and relations.

20. ἀφόδουν χορηγίας, 'abundant means,' 'an ample fortune,' lit. 'means for the provision of *χορός*', below § 3 l. 10. Cf. Plut. de exsil. c. 7 p. 602 Δ χορηγίᾳ βασιλικῇ πρυτανεύομενος, Arist. Pol. 7, 4 οὐ γὰρ οἶόν τε πολιτείαν γενέσθαι τὴν ἀριστην ἀνευ συμμέτρου χορηγίας, Polyb. 11, 8, 5 καὶ τις ἡν περὶ τοὺς πλείστους καλλωπισμὸς ὑπερέχων τὴν ἐτοῦ βίου χορηγίαν, 17, 18, 5 (17, 35, 5 ed. Hultsch) κατὰ τὸν ἕδιον βίον οὐ περιττεύων τῇ χορηγίᾳ.

21. τούναντίον] G. § 160, 2. γλιτσχρότητα πολλῆν καὶ μικρολογίαν, 'great stinginess and penuriousness.' Γλιτσχρός (*γλιτζομαι*) is properly 'sticky,' hence 'greedy,' 'close-fisted;' μικρολόγος, 'a reckoner of trifles,' see Theophrastus Charact. xxiv ed. Jebb.

22. κατηγορούσιν, sc. αὐτοῦ, *ei exprobrant*, 'charge him with.' ὁς, expresses the ground of their charge, see n. to c. 4 § 3 l. 26. τὰ πεμπόμενα, presents sent for his table, when he was unable to take part himself in the sacrificial feast. τῶν ἔδωδίμων] G. § 168.

25. ἤτελησε—δούρεαν ίππον, ‘threatened that he would soon make his house a wooden horse’ in reference to the *Irrhos δουράτεος* of Homer (*Odyss.* viii 493). Cf. Cic. or. p. Mur. § 78 *intus, intus, inquam, est equus Troianus, a quo numquam me consule opprimemini.* The threat meant, that out of Philides’ house there should come misfortunes to ruin him, just as the Greeks who captured Troy came out of the wooden horse.

26. ἔγκλήματα συγγενικά κτλ., ‘that he would stir up family quarrels and litigation between the fellow and some members of his household.’ *ταράσσειν*=‘to raise by stirring up;’ cf. Cat. min. c. 22 *στάσειν καὶ πολέμους ταράσσειν*, Soph. Ant. 789 *τόδε νέκος ἔχεις ταράξας*, Dem. de cor. § 151 *ὡς ἐκ τούτων ἔγκλήματα καὶ πόλεμος ἐταράχθη.* Cf. Per. 36, 3 *ρῆξαι κλαυθμόν*, Arist. Nub. 961 *ρῆξον φωνήν*, etc. τῷ ἀνθρώπῳ, see n. to c. 16 § 21. 22.

§ 2. 28. ἐπι μὲν] opp. to *εἰς δὲ Ὀλυμπίαν*.

29. *δέφανής*, ‘obscure,’ ‘unknown to fame,’) (ἐπιφανής 1, 1. *ἡ* ‘Ερμιόνης, of Hermione, which was a town at the southern extremity of Argolia.

30. *σπουδαζόμανον*, ‘held in high esteem,’ ‘courted;’ cf. Perikl. c. 24 *αὐτὴν λέγουσιν ὑπὸ τοῦ Περικλέους σπουδασθῆναι*, Lucian dial. deor. 16, 1 *οὐδὲ Ἕρμιστος τὴν Ἀφροδίτην ἔγημε καὶ σπουδάζειται πρὸς αὐτήν*, Strabo xvii c. 15 p. 833 *μάλιστα ἐσπουδάσθη παρὰ τοὺς Ρωμαῖοις ὁ Μασανάσσης δι' ἀρετὴν καὶ φύλαν.* *ἐκλιπαρῆσαι, impetrasse*, ‘moved by his importunity.’

7 1. *μελετᾶν*, ‘to practise.’ ταφ' αὐτῷ, ‘at his house,’ Fr. *chez lui.* *φιλοτιμούμενος*—*ἱητεῖν, cupiens huius honoris ut domus sua a multis quaereretur*, ‘being ambitious of the honour of many persons frequenting his house.’ Cf. Xen. Hipp. i 25 *εἰς τὸ φιλοτιμεῖσθαις αὐτοὺς καλῶς παρεκενασμένους ἐκεστον τῆς φυλῆς ἥγεσθαι.*

2. *τὴν οἰκίαν*, ‘his house’ (G. § 141 note 2), where Epikles was staying.

3. 'Ολυμπίαν] Olympia, the famous plain in Elis, where the Olympic games were celebrated. This anecdote may have arisen from Timokreon's (c. 21, 2) complaint that at the Isthmian games Themistokles entertained the visitors with stale viands (*Ισθμοῖ πανδοκεῖς γελοῖς ψυχρὰ κρέα παρεῖχεν*).
διαμιλλάμενος, contendens.

The prep. δὰ has frequently the meaning of *certatim* in composition: thus διαθεῖν τιν 'to run a race with any one' Plat. Protag. p. 335 B, διαπίνειν 'to drink against another' de rep. IV p. 420 D, διαβαπτίζεσθαι 'to contend in foul language' Dem. p. 783, 15, διαβοᾶσθαι p. 906, διορχεῖσθαι Arist. Vesp. 1412, διακοντίζεσθαι Xen. Cyr. I, 4, 4, Theophr. Char. XXVII πρὸς τὸν διανοῦ δικολουθὸν διακοντίζεσθαι καὶ διατοξεύεσθαι; Xen. Cyr. VII 5, 53, διατυκτεῖν 'to have a boxing match.'

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5. οὐκ ἦρετε, 'was not popular with.'

§ 3. 7. φόντο δεῖν, 'thought proper.' οἰεσθαι δεῖν means *necessere credere*, hence *propositum habere, velle*: so οὐκ οἰεσθαι δεῖν is *nolle, prohibere*. Buttmann Index Plat. dial. IV p. 222.

8. μήτω γνώριμος γεγονὼς, = έτι διφανής ὡν 'since he had not yet become distinguished.' Observe the use of *μή* for *οὐ*, without any condition being implied, which is common enough in Plutarch but inadmissible in classical Greek. δοκῶν] 'being thought.' οὐχ ἔτερχόντεν] 'with inadequate means.' Cf. n. to 4, 11. 12.

9. παρ' δέξιαν, i.e. οὐ κατ' αἴξιαν, οὐ πέρ τὴν ἀξίαν 'beyond desert, 'unduly.' Cf. 2, 2 l. 19. προσωφλίσκανεν] 'got a character besides (i.e. πρὸς τῷ οὐκ ἀρέσκειν) for vulgar ostentation, pretentiousness.' The force of *πρὸς* would in Latin be best expressed by *ultra*.

10. ἐνίκησε δὲ καὶ χορηγῶν] a further proof of his φλογίμια was that he obtained a prize 'as choragus.'

The *choregia* was one of the most expensive of the annual or recurring liturgies (*τυχέκλιοι λειτουργίαι*) at Athens, the others being *έρχθεωρία*, *γυμνασιαρχία*, *έστιασις*, to which the representative of a property of 3 talents — about £720, was liable. The duties of the *choregus* were to get the *choreutae* together, to provide them with a trainer (*χοροβιδάσκαλος*), to pay and maintain them while in training, and also to furnish them with the requisite dresses, crowns and masks.

11. *τραγῳδοῖς*] this may be taken either with *χορηγῶν* or with *ἐνικησε*. Cf. Dem. c. Mid. § 43 *τραγῳδοῖς κεχορήγηκε ποτε οὐτος*, ἔγώ δὲ αὐληταῖς ἀνδρῶις with Theophrast. Charact. xxx (ed. Ast) *πικήσας τραγῳδοῖς*, 'when he has gained a prize in a tragic contest,' and Andok. c. Alkip. § 41 p. 42 *κατοι τυγχάνω νεψικηρώς λαμπάδι καὶ τραγῳδοῖς*; also the phrase *καιοῖς τραγῳδῶς*, 'at the representation of the new tragedies,' with which comp. Cio. ep. ad Att. ii 19, 3 *gladiatoribus* 'at a show of gladiators.' ήδη τότε, 'already at that time,' 'even then,' when tragedy was only in its beginning.

12. *πίνακα τῆς νίκης*, 'a tablet recording his victory,' on which were inscribed the names of the successful poet, the *choregus* and the chief archon; it was set up in the temple of Dionysus.

14. *Φρύνιχος*] Phrynicus the famous tragic poet who gained his first victory in B.C. 511, and his last, the one here recorded, with the *Φοίνισσαν* in B.C. 476 = Ol. 76, 1. *διβαστικεῖ, docebat*, because the writer of the tragedy had also to train his own chorus and actors. Hence *τραγῳδοδιδάσκαλος* signifies 'a tragic poet,' *κωμῳδοδιδάσκαλος*, 'a comic poet.'

15. *τῆρχεν*, 'was the chief archon (*έπιτρυμος*).'

§ 4. Notwithstanding his affectation of show, he knew how to win popular favour. οὐ μὴν δῆλο, 'not but what,' 8, 2 l. 14. τοῦτο πολλοῖς ἐνίρμοντε, intrans. 'he suited,' 'pleased,' lit. 'adapted himself to' 'the common people.' Cf. Alex. c. 52 p. 695 Λ αὐτὸν δαμωνίως ἐρήμουσε.

16. *τοῦτο μὲν—τοῦτο δὲ*, 'partly—partly,' 'as well—as,' *εἰς τὰ μὲν—τὰ δὲ*, 25, 2, G. § 148 n. 4, § 160, 2.

17. ἀπὸ στόματος, 'memoriter,' 'by word of mouth,' i.e. 'by memory,' without any δνοματολόγος: Plato Theaet. p. 142 δ οὐ μὰ τὸν Δία (ἔχω διηγήσασθαι), οἴκουν οὕτω γε ἀπὸ στόματος, Xen. Mem. III 6, 9 οὐν ἀν ἔχοιμι σοι οὕτω γε ἀπὸ στόματος εἰπεῖν. Cf. Cic. p. Mur. § 77 *nomine appellari abs te civis tuos honestum est.* κριτῆν] 'an arbitrator,' 'referee,' chosen by the parties; Nepos I 8 *multum in iudiciis privatis ver-sabatur.* μεσφαλῆ] 'to be depended on,' 'sure.'

18. περὶ τῶν συμβόλαιων, 'in (disputes arising out of) private contracts.' ὡς] for ὥστε as often in later Greek.

19. Σιμωνίδην] Simonides of Keos, the celebrated lyric poet, was noted for his mercenary spirit (φιλαργυρία). See my *Onomasticon Aristophaneum* s. v. αἰτούμενόν τι τῶν οὐ μετρίων, 'when he asked him to do something unfair,' 'to strain a point in his favour.' Cf. Arist. Nub. 1187 ἐμοῦ μέτρι' ἄττα καὶ δίκαι' αἰτουμένου.

21. ἄρδων=εἰ ἄρδα (*Blass*), not=εἰ ἄρδεν (*Sintenis*), G. § 226, 1. παρὰ μῆλος=πλημμελῶς, 'out of tune,') (ἐμμελῶς.

22. ἀστεῖος ἄρχων, 'a good governor.' ἀστεῖος is used in later Greek of any thing good of its kind, as ἀστεῖος οἶνος Plutarch quaest. conv. c. 2, 4 p. 620 c, τὸν ἑλλέβορον τὸν ἀστεῖον Strabo IX c. 3 p. 418, Αἴγυπτοι τὸν Λυκοῦργον οἰνοτα... χωρίσαντα τὸν βανάνους καὶ χειροτέχνας ἀστεῖον ὡς ἀληθῶς τὸ πολιτεύμα καὶ καθαρὸν ἀποδεῖξαι Plut. Lycurg. c. IV.

23. χαριζόμενος=εἰ χαρίζοιτο, 'if he favoured.'

24. Κορινθίους μὲν κτλ, 'for his inconsistency in getting his own likeness so often taken, though he was so ugly, while he cast a slur upon the Corinthians though they inhabited so great a city.' On the coordination of contrasted clauses see my note to Cic. or. p. Planc. § 26 l. 5. For the allusion cf. Aristot. Rhet. I 6 λειλαδορῆσθαι ὑπέλαβον Κορινθίοις ὑπὸ Σιμωνίδου ποιήσαντος. Κορινθίοις δ' οὐ μέμφεται τὸ Ἰλιον, because Glaucus, the Lycian prince, who was a Corinthian by descent, fought on the side of Troy against the Greeks.

25. αὐτοῦ ποιούμενον εἰκόνας, 'getting portraits of himself taken,' G. § 199 n. 2, cf. below 31 § 2 l. 17. The contrast lies between αὐτοῦ ποιούμενον εἰκόνας and λοιδοροῦντα, and μεγάλην οἰκοῦντας πόλιν and αἰσχροῦ δυτὸς τὴν ὄψιν. Εἰκὼν is to be understood of a portrait-statue or bust, not of a painting. Cf. Jebb to Theophrastus p. 180, 11.

27. αὐξόμενος, i.q. αὐξανόμενος, 'growing in credit,' referring to the statement at the commencement of this §. **τέλος]** G. § 160, 2.

28. κατεστασίαστε, 'he overpowered in party-strife.' The verb καταστασίασθεν (κατά, στάσις), is a favourite one with Plutarch for 'to overpower by forming a counter party,' cf. Pericl. c. 9, 3, Mar. c. 28 p. 422 Δικαιοστασίας τὸν Μέτελλον, Sertor. c. 4 p. 569 Φύλλα καταστασίαντος αὐτὸν ἔξπεσε, C. Caes. c. 14 p. 714 Δικαιοστασίδαι Κικέρωνα μετὰ Κλωδίου, Cat. c. 29 p. 773 οἱ Γαῖον Μεμφίου καταστασιάζοντος αὐτὸν ἐν τῷ δῆμῳ, Cic. c. 65 p. 884 Δικαιοστασίας, and in the pass. below c. xi § 1 l. 8, Arist. comp. o. Cat. c. 2 p. 353 οἱ ἔξοστρακισθεὶς καὶ καταστασιασθεὶς ὑπὸ Θεμιστοκλέους, Sull. c. v p. 478 Δικαιοστασιασμένος ὑπὸ τῶν ἔχθρῶν, Dem. adv. Leod. § 3 p. 1082.

μετέστησεν, 'caused him to retire,' a weaker expression than ἔξέβαλε. Cf. Arist. c. 7 p. 322 οἱ διστράκοι λαβὼν ἔκαστος καὶ γράψας δὺν ἐφοιλέτο μεταστήσαι τῶν πολιτῶν, Nic. c. 11 p. 580 οἱ διστράκοι λαβὼν τῷ διστράκῳ μεθιστὰς εἰς δέκα ἥτη, below 11, 1, τοῖς ἐπὶ χρόνῳ μεθεστῶσιν Aristid. c. 8 ἐψηφίσαντο τοῖς μεθεστῶσι κάθοδον. This event happened acc. to Plutarch Arist. o. 8 in B.C. 482, acc. to Nepos Arist. i 5 in B.C. 485; we should probably take the mean 484 or 483. The sentence was for 10 years, but he returned much earlier.

ἔξοστρακισθέντα, ostracismo eiectum (ἐκ, διστράκοι); Herod. viii 79, Plat. Gorg. p. 516 D. See Dict. Antiqu. p. 514 a, ed. 2.

CHAPTER VI

- § 1. 80.** τοῦ Μήδου, 'the Median king,' Xerxes, 7, 1 l. 29.
8 2. ἀκοστήναι, 'stood aloof from,' 'declined to be candidates for.'

8. ἀκεντληγμένους τὸν κινδυνον, 7, 8; 18, 2.

9. θανόν μὲν εἰστιν κ.τ.λ., ‘though an able speaker (G. § 261, 1) yet faint-hearted, cowardly.’

10. τῇ ψυχῇ] G. § 188 n. 1, the dative is used instead of the accusative to avoid the awkwardness of one accusative depending on another. Cf. above 2, 1 and below 16, 2 Ἀρσάκην δύναματι, Pericl. 3, 2 προμήκη τῇ κεφαλῇ. χρημάτων γῆτρα, ‘unable to resist,’ ‘accessible to, bribes,’ ‘venal.’) (χρημάτων κρείττων Pericl. 15, 2.

11. ἐπίδοξον εἶναι, ‘that he was expected, likely, to be successful.’ Cf. Isokr. or. xx c. Loch. § 12 p. 897 δ τοὺς ἐπιδόξους γενήσεσθαι τοντρούς, Archid. § 8 ἐπιδόξος ὁ τυχεών τῇ τιμῇ ταῦτη, i.e. being heir presumptive to this dignity, so, the Spartan kingship, Herod. vi 12 πολλοὶ ἐπιδόξοι τῶντὸ πελσεσθαι, Plut. Thes. c. 19 p. 8 επιδόξος ὁ ἄπαντας πάλιν νικήσεις δ Ταῦρος ἐφθανεῖτο, Num. c. 5 p. 62 επιδόξος ήν δ δῆμος αἱρήσεσθαι τὸν ἔπερον. See Jebb's Select Attic Orat. p. 806 n.

8. οὖν] continuative.

9. τὰ πράγματα, *res publica*, ‘the state.’

10. ἀμανοσότης, G. § 183, § 278, 1, § 277, 4.

11. ἀξιωμασθαι, ‘bought off,’ ‘bribed him to forget his ambitious projects.’ χρήμαστι is the dat. of means (G. § 188, 1) instead of χρημάτων the gen. of price (G. § 178). Cf. Aristot. Pol. b, 11, 29 (p. 1815^a 24) τὰς δοκούσας ἀγυμας ἐξανεῖθαι μείζοις τιμαῖς, Lys. ὑπέρ τοῦ ἀδ. § 16, p. 169, 39 οἱ πλούσιοι τοῖς χρήμασιν ἐξανούνται τοὺς κινδύνους, with Aristot. Oecon. II 88 (p. 185 2^a 18) χρημάτων ἐξενούντο τοὺς συνειλημμένους.

§ 2. 12. τὸ περὶ τὸν δίγλωττον Ἡρόν, ‘his treatment of the man who spoke two languages, being one of those who were sent by the king to ask earth and water.’ Herodotus VII c. 82 says οὐτε ἐσ Αθήνας οὐτε ἐσ Δακεδαλονα ἀπέπεμπε ἐσ γῆς αἴτησιν, and in c. 183 he tells the reason why; so that Plutarch's story is opposed to historical truth. The γῆς καὶ

ὑδατος αἴρησις was tantamount to a demand for complete surrender of their people, land and cities.

14. ἐρμηνέα δυτα, not 'although he was a herald, and as such inviolable' (*Sintenis*), but simply 'who was an interpreter.'

συλλαβθόν ἀπέκτενεν, he had him arrested (in virtue of his authority as *στρατηγός*), and procured a decree (*ψήφισμα*) of the ekklesia to put him to death.

15. χρῆσαι, *utendum dare*, 'to lend,' 'put at the service of,' from *κιχρόμι*, cf. Plut. Dion. c. 22 χρῆσαι τὸ σῶμα καὶ τούνομα Σικελιώταις ἐπὶ τὸν Διουνύσιον, Pomp. c. 56 τὰς δυνάμεις ἀπαίτων ἢ χρῆσεν αὐτῷ. Koraës explains it by μολύναι, κατασχῆναι from χράω=χραῖνω, but he does not support his explanation by any authority.

17. τὸ περὶ Ἀρθμίου, sc. ἔταινεῖται. The infamy with which Arthmius of Zelea (a town in the Troad, mentioned by Homer Il. II 824 as the home of Pandarus IV 103) was branded (*στηλίτης*) is frequently spoken of in terms of praise by the orators, Dem. Philipp. III § 42 p. 121 τὶ οὖν λέγει τὰ γράμματα ('the inscription'); "Ἀρθμίος," φησίν, 'ὁ Πυθώνακτος, ὁ Ζελείτης, ἀτιμος ἔστω καὶ πολέμος τοῦ δήμου τῶν Ἀθηναίων καὶ τῶν ξυμμάχων αὐτὸς καὶ γένος.' εἰδὸς ή αἰτία γέγραπται δι' ήν ταῦτ' ἐγένετο· διη τὸν χρυσὸν τὸν ἐκ τῶν Μήδων εἰς Πελοπόννησον ἤγαγεν, de fals. leg. § 308 p. 428, Aesch. in Ktesiph. p. 647 § 258, Dinarch. c. Aristog. § 24 p. 108, Aristid. in Lept. p. 168 ed. Wolf. Plutarch is the only writer who states that it was Themistokles who proposed the decree (εἶπε).

18. καὶ τοῦτον, 'him also,' as the interpreter before him. Arthmius could not be made *ἀτιμος* in the ordinary sense of forfeiting the franchise, because he was not an Athenian. The sentence against him and his family was one of outlawry, so that καθαρὸν τὸν τούτων τινὰ ἀποκτείναττα εἶναι. The omission of the article before *γένος* in this formula is not exceptional, but regular and may be classed under the head of enumeration. Madvig Gr. Synt. § 8 R. 2 e. Cobet v. l. p. 371 thinks that the words καὶ παῖδες αὐτοῦ ought to be struck out 'ne perinepte his idem dicatur.' εἰς τοὺς ἀτιμοὺς ἐνέγραψαν, in ~~τοὺς~~ ~~τοὺς~~ *retulit* 'entered on the disfranchised list.'

19. τὸν ἐκ Μήδων χρυσὸν—ἰκόμισε, for τὸν Μῆδων χρυσὸν ἐκ Μῆδων ἐκόμισε by a very common attraction, when the relation belonging to the noun, being attracted by the verb, becomes the relation of that verb. Thus Thuc. v 35 ὁ ἐκεῖθεν πόλεμος δεῦρο ἥξει=ὁ ἐκεῖ πόλεμος ἥξει ἐκεῖθεν δεῦρο, Theophr. Charact. II 4 ἄρας τι τῶν ἀπὸ τῆς τραπέζης for ἄρας τι τῶν ἐν τῇ τραπέζῃ ἀπὸ τῆς τρ., Plato Phaed. § 134 οἱ ἐκ τῆς θαλάσσης λύθινες ἀνακύπτοντες. See Heindorf, Gorg. c. 61 p. 79, Phaed. c. 57 p. 92.

20. μέγιστον δὲ πάντων, sc. αὐτοῦ ἐστίν, 'is his greatest achievement of all,' the subject being the clause τὸ καταλῦσαι τοὺς Ἑ. π. κ. τ. λ., G. § 259 n. As to the statement, cf. Herod. vii 145 who says that the greatest of these wars was that between Athens and Aegina; he does not however name Themistokles in connexion with it. The feud was terminated by the Panhellenic congress at the Isthmus of Corinth; see Grote *Hist. Gr.* vol. v. c. 39.

23. τὰς ἔχεις—διαβαλέσθαι, 'to defer their feuds because of the war with Persia,' not 'until after the Persian war' (Stewart).

24. πρὸς δ, 'towards which object.' Χειλεώς Cheileos of Tegea in Arcadia, the same who by his judicious advice in B.C. 479 induced the Spartans to march to Plataeae, Herod. ix 9.

CHAPTER VII

§ 1. 26. παραλαβὲν τὴν ἀρχὴν, 'when he succeeded to the office of general.' ἐπεχείρει of a continued and repeated act. ἴτεθεν, 'sought to persuade,' 'urged,' G. § 200 note 2. So Schaefer and Blaß, but Sintenis reads ἔπεισε, 'persuaded.'

28. ὡς προσωπάτει τῆς Ἑλλάδος, 'as far as possible from Hellas,' G. § 182, 2.

29. τῷ βαρβάρῳ like τοῦ Μήδου § 6, 1.

30. ἐνσταμένων πολλῶν, 'because many opposed him,' c. 3 § 2.

9. 1. *εἰς τὰ Τέμπατη, ἐς τὴν ἑσβολήν, ἥπερ ἀπὸ Μακεδονίης τῆς κάτω ἐς Θεσσαλίην φέρει παρὰ Πηγειὸν ποταμόν, μεταξὺ δὲ Ὁλύμπου τε οὐρεος Ιοντα καὶ τῆς Ὀσσης,* Herod. vii 173.

2. *ώς,* expresses the motive he had for going there. Cf. c. 4 § 3 l. 26. *αὗτόθι=αὐτοῦ ibi,* as often in Plato, Xenophon, Thucydides. *προκυνθυνευσόντων]* G. § 277, 3.

3. *μηδίζειν,* 'to declare for the Medes') (*ἐλληνίζειν.* Cf. *φιλιππίζω,* Dem. 287, 1.

4. *ἄπρακτοι,* *re infecta,* 'without accomplishing their object.'

5. *βασιλέϊ*] The article is nearly always omitted when the Persian king is meant, Madv. Synt. § 8 R. 2 b. It is used in 23, 2; 26, 1; 28, 1; 29, 3.

ἐμηδίζειε] G. § 135, 2.

6. *μᾶλλον προσεῖχον]* 2, 4.

8. *ἐπ' Ἀτρεμίσιον]* 8, 2. *τὰ στρεψ,* 'the straits.' Thuc. ii 86, 3; 90, 1. *φυλαξῶν]* G. § 277, 8.

§ 2. 9. *τῶν Ἐλλήνων]* all except the Athenians, Ag. 14, 2. Herodotus viii 8 puts the date of this question of precedence earlier, and does not mention the name of Themistokles in connexion with it at all. *Εὑρυβιάθην καὶ Δακε-Σαμονίους]* the whole subjoined to the part; cf. Thuc. i 80, 2 *τοὺς Πελοποννησίους καὶ τοὺς δοτυγένετος,* 116, 8 *φέρετο ἐπὶ Καίνου καὶ Καρπα,* iii 51, 2 *ἀπὸ τοῦ Βουδροῦ καὶ Σαλαμῖνος, ib.* 38, 1 *τῷ Πάχητι καὶ τοῖς Ἀθηναῖοις,* Arist. Nub. 413 *ἢ Ἀθηναῖοι καὶ τοῖς Ἐλλησι,* Plut. 895 *ὦ Ζεῦ καὶ θεοί.* Similarly in Latin Hor. Serm. ii 7, 86 *Mulvius et scurrae,* Liv. 9 15 *an consulum Papirique praecipuum id decus sit,* 30, 12 *misso Syphace et captivis,* 21, 40 *adversus Hannibalem et Poenos,* and in English, e.g. Spenser F. Q. iv 2, 51, 9 'not all the gods can change nor Iove himself can free,' where see Upton's note. Cf. Drakenborch on Liv. iii 25, 4.

10. *ὅτι πλήθει*] On the grounds of the pretension see c. 11. According to Herodotus they had 127 themselves, and the Chalcidians had lent 20: the whole amounted to 271.

11. ὅμοῦ τι, *circiter*, 'nearly,' 'almost,' to be taken with σύμπαντας.

12. οὐκ ἀξιούντων, 'thinking it unbecoming' (*οὐκ ἀξίον*), 'resolving not.' Οὐκ ἀξιῶ, *indignum iudico, nolo*, like οὐ φημι, οὐκ ἔω, corresponds to a single negative verb in English. Cf. Thucyd. iv 86, 2 οὐκον ἀξιῶ οὐτ' αὐτὸς ὑποτείνεσθαι, i 102, 4 δεινὸν ποιήσαντες καὶ οὐκ ἀξιούντες ὑπὸ Δακεδαιμονίων τοῦτο παθεῖν, ii 89, iii 44, 4; 61, 2, viii 73. συνιδὼν, 'seeing at a glance,' i.e. taking a comprehensive view of, cf. 8, 2; 14, 2.

14. παρῆκε, *cessit*, 'gave up his claims.'

15. ἂν ἀγαθοὶ γένωνται, 'should they prove themselves brave men.'

16. παρέβαν, 'that he would make Greeks thenceforth cheerfully recognise their supremacy.'

17. Σιδ καὶ, 'it is on this account in fact.' [Σοκεῖ] 2, 6.

18. ἡς ἀνθρεά μὴν κτλ] Cf. Isokr. Panegyr. § 72 f., imitated by Lykurg. c. Leokr. § 70 (330 B.C.), μῆνοι ἀμφοτέρων περιγεγόνασι καὶ τῶν πολεμίων καὶ τῶν συμμάχων, ὡς ἐκατέρων προσῆκε, τοὺς μὲν εὐεργετοῦντες, τοὺς δὲ μαχόμενοι νικῶντες, Aristides Panath. 1 ἀμφοτέρας τὰς νίκας ἀνελοντο σαφέστατα· τοὺς μὲν γάρ ἔχθροὺς τοὺς δπλούς, τῇ δ' ἐπιεικέρ τοὺς φίλους ἐνίκησαν. They were ἀνδρεώτεροι than their enemies, εὐγνωμονέστεροι, 'more sensible,' 'considerate' than their allies.

§ 3. Herod. viii 4. 21. ταῖς Ἀφεταῖς προσμίξαντος, 'when it arrived at Aphetae,' Thuc. i 46 ἐπειδὴ προσέμιξαν τῇ κατὰ Κερκίραν ἥπειρῳ, vii 29, G. § 186. Aphetae was a port of Magnesia in Thessaly, occupied by the Persian fleet before the battle of Artemisium, which lay opposite to it (κατὰ στόμα), Herod. viii 11.

23. ἀκτλαγεῖς—τὸ πλῆθος] 13, 2.

24. δῆλας διακοσίας, 'two hundred more sail,' Herod. viii 7.

9. 1. *εἰς τὰ Τέμπη*, *ἐις τὴν ἐσβολήν*, *ῆπερ ἀπὸ Μακεδονίης τῆς κάτω ἐις Θεσσαλίην φέρει παρὰ Πηνειὸν ποταμόν*, μεταξὺ δὲ Ὁλύμπου τε οὐρεος ιοντα καὶ τῆς Ὀσσης, Herod. vii 173.

2. *ώς*, expresses the motive he had for going there. Cf. c. 4 § 8 l. 26. *αὐτόθι=αὐτοῦ ibi*, as often in Plato, Xenophon, Thucydides. *προκινθυνευσόντων*] G. § 277, 3.

3. *μηδίζειν*, 'to declare for the Medes') (*ἐλληνίζειν*. Cf. *φιλιππίζω*, Dem. 287, 1.

4. *ἄπρακτοι*, *τε infecta*, 'without accomplishing their object.'

5. *βασιλεῖ*] The article is nearly always omitted when the Persian king is meant, Madv. Synt. § 8 R. 2 b. It is used in 28, 2; 26, 1; 28, 1; 29, 3.

ἴμηδίζει] G. § 185, 2.

6. *μᾶλλον προσεῖχον*] 2, 4.

8. *ἔπ' Ἀργείων*] 8, 2. *τὰ στρατ.*, 'the straits.' Thuc. ii 86, 3; 90, 1. *φυλάξων*] G. § 277, 8.

§ 2. 9. *τῶν Ἑλλήνων*] all except the Athenians, Ag. 14, 2. Herodotus viii 8 puts the date of this question of precedence earlier, and does not mention the name of Themistokles in connexion with it at all. *Ἐύρυβιάδην καὶ Δακε-Σαμονίους*] the whole subjoined to the part; cf. Thuc. i 80, 2 *τοὺς Πελοποννησίους καὶ τοὺς ἀστυεῖτορας*, 116, 8 *φέρετο ἐπὶ Καίνους καὶ Καρπαῖς*, iii 51, 2 ἀπὸ τοῦ Βουδροῦ καὶ Σαλαμίνος, ib. 83, 1 *τῷ Πάχητι καὶ τῷς Ἀθηναῖοις*, Arist. Nub. 413 *ἐν Ἀθηναῖοις καὶ τοῖς Ἑλλησι*, Plut. 895 *ὦ Ζεῦ καὶ θεοί*. Similarly in Latin Hor. Serm. ii 7, 86 *Mulvius et scurræ*, Liv. 9 15 *an consulum Papiriique praecipuum id decus sit*, 80, 12 *missis Syphace et captivis*, 21, 40 *adversus Hannibalem et Poenos*, and in English, e.g. Spenser F. Q. iv 2, 51, 9 'not all the gods can change nor love himself can free,' where see Upton's note. Cf. Drakenborch on Liv. iii 25, 4.

10. *ὅτι πλήθεα*] On the grounds of the pretension see c. 11. According to Herodotus they had 127 themselves, and the Chalcidians had lent 20: the whole amounted to 271.

§ 2. δὴ σωμάτῳ, 'it was this, you know, which Pindar, as it seems, comprehended, when he wrote about the battle at Artemisium,' in reference to τῇ δὲ πείρᾳ μέγιστα ὡνησαν. 'Monstrat addita particula δὴ quasi rem, de qua plane iam constet, ac leniter admonet de causa manifesta auditorem.' Klotz ad Devar. II p. 404. οὐ κακῷς is a litotes for εὖ or καλῶς. θοικε (3, 27) belongs in sense to the participle.

1. ἐπὶ τῆς ἐν Ἀρτεμισίῳ μάχῃς] 3, 8 n. ἐπὶ=super, 'in 11 relation to,' 'in the case of,' 'concerning,' after verbs of seeing, judging, proving and saying. Xen. Mem. III 9, 8 ὁρᾷ ἐπὶ τῶν ἀλλων πάντων ὅμοιων καὶ φύσει διαφέροντας ἀλλήλων τοὺς ἀνθρώπους, II 3, 2 ἐπὶ τῶν ἀδελφῶν τὸ αὐτὸ τοῦτο ἀγνοοῦσι, and frequently in Aristotle.

2. δθε=οὐ, 'where.' So αὐτόθι for αὐτοῦ passim. ταῖς 'Αθαναλών] like Homer's νίες 'Αχαιών and Herodotus' ταῖς Λυδῶν (127). θβάλοντο κρηπῖδα, 'laid the foundation.' Cf. Pyth. IV 138 βάλλετο κρηπῖδα σοφῶν ἐπέων, VII 3 κρηπῖδ' αἰοῖσιν ἵπποισι βαλέσθαι.

5. ἀρχῇ—τὸ θαρρεῖν] sc. ἔστι, G. § 141 n. 6, n. 8.

6. τῆς Εὐβοας] gen. of the divided whole, G. § 167, 6. ὑπὲρ] i.e. further from the mainland of Hellas and nearer the Aegean Sea, 7, 8.

7. ἀναπεπταμένος, partic. perf. pass. from ἀναπεπτάνυμι, 'lying open to,' 'facing.' Cf. Plutarch Erot. c. 6 τῆς ἐν ἥλιῳ καθαρᾶς καὶ ἀναπεπταμένης διατριβῆς, Arrian exp. 2, 6, 4 πεδίοις πάντῃ ἀναπεπταμένον, Kyneg. c. 17 οἱ ἐν τοῖς περιφάνεσι καὶ ἀναπεπταμένοις τὰς εὐνὰς ἔχοντες, Xen. hist. gr. 4, 1, 15 θῆραι αἱ μὲν ἐν περιεργμένοις παραδέσσοις, αἱ δὲ καὶ ἀναπεπταμένοις τόποις, Oec. 9, 4 ἐπέδεξα τὴν οἰκίαν ὅτι πρὸς μεσημβριαν ἀναπέπταται. See also n. to 21, 3. ἀνταίρε, contra assurgit, 'rises over against,' or 'in the same parallel with': cf. Aem. c. 6 τὰ πρὸς τὴν Λίβύην ἀνταίροντα.

8. τῆς χώρας] as above 1. 6. Olizon (the 'lesser town' from δλιγίων) was in Magnesia in Thessaly; it is mentioned by Homer as being part of the dominions of Philoctetes (Il. II 717). μελιστα] 'about,' 'pretty near.'

25. ὑπέρ Σκιαθου = ἔξωθεν Σκ. Herod. l. c., 'beyond, outside of Skiathos,' which was an island off Magnesia, N.E. of Euboea. This squadron was detached to sail round Euboea and up the strait from the south, so as to take the Greeks in the rear.

26. τὴν ταχίστην, sc. ὁδὸν, G. § 160, 2. εἶτα τῆς
Ἐλλάδος = ἐνώ ἐτη τὴν Ἐλλάδα, Herod. viii 4.

27. ἀφίσθαι Πελοποννήσου, 'to reach the Peloponnesus.'

28. προσπειβαλίσθαι, 'to surround, as with an additional ($\pi\rho\sigma$) protection.'

29. διπρόσπαχον, 'irresistible,' G. § 138 R. τὴν
κατὰ θελατταν] G. § 141 n. 3.

30. θείσαντες] the principal sentence begins here.

10 1. σφᾶς] indirect reflexive, G. § 144, 2 (a). πρόσωνται
Why not πρόσωτο or προεῖντο? See G. p. 176 n. and
§ 218. κρύφα θιελγόντο, 'made secret proposals
to.'

2. Πελάγουτα] no name is given by Herodotus for this and other particulars. Plutarch therefore must have borrowed his account from Phanias of Lesbos, concerning whom see below l. 18 and Introduction.

χρημάτων] 30 talents according to Herodotus.

3. ὡς Ἡρόδοτος ιστόρηκε] Plutarch misrepresents Herod., who says (viii 5) that Them. gave Eurybiades 5 talents, Adeimantus the Corinthian 3, and kept the remaining 22 himself, (αὐτὰς ἐκέρδηνε, ἀλάνθανε δὲ τὰ λοιπὰ ἔχων).

4. τοὺς περὶ τὸν Εὐρυβιάδην] this, as is often the case in later Greek, may mean no more than Eurybiades himself, though it may also include Adeimantus.

§ 4. Story about Architeles, taken from Phanias of Lesbos.

5. τῶν πολιτῶν may be either the partitive genitive 'one of his fellow-citizens,' or gen. after μάλιστα (G. § 168) 'more than any other of his fellow-citizens.'

8. κατὰ τῶν λίθων, 'on (lit. from top to bottom) the stones which he found there'; the article anticipates the explanation given by *τοὺς μὲν—τοὺς δέ*. The inscription is given by Herodotus VIII 22: "Αὐδρες Ἰωνες, οὐ ποιέστε δίκαια ἐπὶ τοὺς πατέρας στρατευόμενοι καὶ τὴν Ἑλλάδα καταδουλούμενοι, ἀλλὰ μάλιστα μὲν πρὸς ἡμέων γίνεσθε, εἰ δὲ ὑμῖν ἔστι τοῦτο μὴ δύνατον ποιῆσαι, ὑμέες δὲ ἔτι καὶ νῦν ἐκ τοῦ μέσου ἡμῶν ἔξεσθε καὶ αὐτοὶ καὶ τῶν Καρῶν δέεσθε τὰ αὐτὰ ὑμῖν ποιέειν. εἰ δὲ μηδέτερον τούτων οὖν τε γίνεσθαι, ἀλλ' ὑπ' ἀναγκαῖτος μέζονος κατέχευχθε ἡ ὥστε ἀπίστασθαι, ὑμέες γε ἐν τῷ ἔργῳ, ἐπεάν συμμίσγωμεν, ἀθελοκά-κέστε, μεμνημένοις ὅτι ἀπ' ἡμέων γεγόνατε καὶ ὅτι ἀρχῆθεν ἡ ἔχθρὴ πρὸς τὸν βάρβαρον ἄπ' ὑμέων ἡμῖν γέγονε."

9. ἐπιφανῆ γράμματα, 'a conspicuous inscription.'

10. ὕδρειας, 'watering-stations.' The word means pro-
perly *aquatio*, 'fetching water,' as in Thuc. viii 13 τῶν ναυτῶν
διὰ φρυγανισμὸν καὶ ἀρταγῆν καὶ ὕδρειαν μακράν ὑπὸ τῶν Ιππέων
ἀπολλυμένων, Plut. Sert. c. 13 p. 874 D ὕδρειας ἀπέκοπτε.
ἐπισκῆπτων, a strong expression, 'conjuring.'

11. οἴον τε] sc. ἔστι, 16, 2.

μετατόξισθαι πρὸς αὐτοὺς, 'to change their places and
side with them.'

12. πατέρας] The Ionian states regarded Athens as their
mother state.

13. κακοῦν τὸ βαρβαρικὸν, 'to do mischief to the army of
the barbarians.' Herodotus has ἀθελοκάκειν='to fight back-
wardly,' 'to play the coward on purpose.'

14. ταῦτα, sc. τὰ γράμματα.

15. ὑποπτοτέρους, act. 'suspicious.' Herod. I. c. Ἰωνεῖς
ἀπίστους ποιήσῃ τοὺς Ἰωνας καὶ τῶν ναυμαχιέων αὐτοὺς ἀπόσχη.
The result, as recorded by the historian, was that ἡθελοκάκεον
μέντοι αὐτῶν κατὰ τὰς Θεμιστοκλέους ἐντολὰς δλίγοι, οἱ δὲ πλεύ-
νεισσοι.

§ 2. 13. ἄγωθεν] from Oeta.

16. πυρπολοῦντος] Herod. VIII. 32 οἱ δὲ βάρβαροι τὴν χώρην
πᾶσαν ἐπέδραμον τὴν Φωκίδα.—όκοσα δὲ ἐπεσχον, πάντα ἐπέφλε-
γον καὶ ἐκειρον καὶ ἐς τὰς πόλεις ἐνιέντες τῦρ καὶ ἐς τὰ Ιρά.

15. προσῆμναν, *opem tulerunt, propugnarunt*, Hom. Il. v 139, Plut. Sertor. c. 18 p. 577 ή ταρὼς ἐγγὺς οὐ προσήμυνεν, Mar. c. 39 p. 233 & δέφθεων αὐτὸν καὶ προσήμυνεν οὐδεὶς τῶν ταρόντων, Cat. c. 44 p. 780 η κυδυνεύοντα στρατηγὸν ἐγκαταλιπόντας καὶ μὴ προσαμύναντας. In the other passages where it is used by Plutarch it is followed by the dative as in Rom. c. 25 p. 33 B.

16. εἰς τὴν Βοιωτίαν ἀνατηῆσαι, 'to go to Boeotia to meet him and make a stand in defence of (πρὸ) Attica.'

18. ἐν Ἀρτεμισίῳ ἔβοήθησαν, 'had gone to Artemisium to help them.' οὐδενὸς for οὐδενός, μὴ being used for οὐ in Plutarch and later writers with participles even when they do not express a condition, but only time, cause, opposition or any attendant circumstance.

19. περιεχομένων, 'when all clung to the Peloponnesus,' Herod. viii 40 περὶ τλείστου τουεμένους (τὴν Πελοπόννησον) περιεῖναι. Cf. Herod. i 71 γενσάμενος τῶν ἡμετέρων ἀγαθῶν περιέχονται (nolent ea e manibus dimittere), iii 72 τῶντοῦ περιεχόμεθα, vii 160 δοκου ὑμεῖς περιέχεσθε τῆς ἡγεμονίης, Plut. quaest. conv. vi 3, c. 2 p. 689 ο τοῖς τόροις τούτοις ὡν ἔντοι περιέχονται, ix 4 c. 2 p. 739 ο τὴν ἐρρωμενοτέρην χείρα καὶ μᾶλλον τοῦ Αἰγαίου περιεχομένην η, de Herod. mal. c. 35 p. 868 & Θούριον μὲν ὑπὸ τῶν ἀλλων νομιζόμενον, αὐτὸν δὲ Ἀλικαρνασσέων περιεχόμενον, adv. Col. c. 27 p. 1123 & τὸ δὲ φύσει περιέχεσθαι τὰ τεκόντα τῶν γεναμένων, Thes. comp. c. Rom. c. 2 p. 37 η σώζεται δὲ (ἢ ἀρχὴ) οὐχ ἡττον ἀπεχομένη τοῦ μὴ προσήκοντος ἢ περιεχομένη τοῦ προσήκοντος. πάντων is implied in μῆνός, as in Fab. Max. c. 11: οὐδενὸς ἐξ χώρα μένει τολμῶντος, ἀλλὰ πρὸς φυγὴν ἀθουμένων.

20. ὥρμημένων, 'having determined.'

21. διατειχίζοντων τὸν Ἰσθμὸν εἰς θάλατταν ἐκ θαλάττης, 'were building a wall across the Isthmus from sea to sea' i.e. from the Saronic to the Corinthian Gulf.

22. ὅργη εἶχε—τοὺς Ἀθηναῖος, = ὅργὴν εἶχον οἱ Ἀθηναῖοι, τῆς προδοσίας] G. § 167, 3.

24. κατήφεια, 'dejection,' 'mental depression,' a favourite word with Plutarch.

Cf. Cam. c. 20 p. 223 D τὴν δὲ θουλὴν ἄχος ἵσχε καὶ κατήφεια μεταμελομένη, Lyc. c. 11 p. 45 B αἰδὼς δὲ πολλὴ καὶ κατήφεια ἵσχε τὸς ιδόντας, Num. c. 10 p. 66 Ζ μετανούση καὶ κατήφειται συνοῦσαι, Public. c. 6, Sol. cum Public. comp. c. 1, Fab. **ΜΑΧ.** c. 18, Alcib. c. 14 p. 198 Ζ τὸν δὲ Νικίαν ἀπλήγητε εἶχε καὶ κατήφεια, Aem. Paul. c. 22 p. 287 Δ κατήφεια δὲ τὸ στρατόπεδον καὶ κραυγὴ κατέκιν, Pelop. c. 290 c, Philop. c. 21 p. 308 Ζ τὰς πόλεις κανῆ κατήφεια καὶ πάθος εἶχεν, Mar. c. 29 p. 422 Ζ τὸς ἀρίστους κατήφεια δεινὴ καὶ μέσον ἴσχε, ib. c. 41 p. 480 Δ, C. Caes. c. 60 p. 736 B, Dio c. 51 p. 980 B, Anton. c. 40 p. 984 B, etc.

§ 3. μὲν οὖν, *itaque*, 'and so' in continuation of the narrative.

25. οὐ διενοοῦντο] Cobet says: 'reponendum de more Graecorum οὐδὲ διενοοῦντο, ne cogitabant quidem.'

μυριάσι τοσαντάται, 'with so many myriads': *myrias*=the number of 10,000, is sometimes used of 'countless numbers.'

26. ἐν τῷ παρόντι, 'under the circumstances.'

27. ἐμφύνει, 'to cling closely to,' 'to stick to.'

Plut. praece. ger. reip. c. 12, 7 p. 806 Ζ τούτων οὖν ἡχεσθαι δεῖ τῶν ἀνθρώπων καὶ τούτους ἐμφύνεσθαι, Cam. c. 35 p. 147 c, Philop. c. 4 p. 388 Δ τῶν δέλλων διαγνωσμάτων μάλιστα τοῖς Εὐαγγελοῖς τακτικοῖς ἐνεφύνετο ('pinned his belief to'), Timol. c. 21 p. 246 Οἱ ἐμπεφυκότες οἱ κατέχει μέρος, Pyrrh. c. 6 p. 386 Δ ἐμφύνει τοῖς Μακεδόνιοι πράγμασιν, Romp. c. 66 p. 654 Ζ ταῖς χερσὶν ἐμφύνει, Tib. Gracch. c. 6 p. 896 B, Ant. c. 77 p. 951 B, Alex. c. 16 p. 672 Ζ ἐμφύτε τῇ διαβάσει, Cat. c. 29 p. 773 Δ ἐνεφύνετο τῇ φιλᾳ τῷ Κάτωτος, c. 49 p. 783 B Καλέσαρος ἐμπεφυκότες τοῖς στρατεύμασιν ἐν Γαλατίαι καὶ τῶν δόπλων ὁδομονῶν, Dem. c. 30 p. 859 Ζ ἐμπεφυκότος αὐτῷ τῷ φαρμάκον, Arat. c. 50 p. 1050 Ζ ἀροταὶ γέροντες ἐμφύνενται πέτραις καὶ κρηπιών περιέχοντα, Cato min. c. 4 τοῖς γένεσι καὶ πολεμίσοις ἐνεφύνετο δόρυμασι.

χαλεπῶς ἤκουον, 'were loth to hear.'

28. μήτε θεόμενοι] see above, § 2 l. 18: they did not care for victory at such a price, they knew no salvation under such circumstances.

29. προιμένων, 'if they had to abandon,' genitive abs. for which the nom. partic. would have been used, had not another partic. preceded. ήρπα, 'tombs.'

CHAPTER X

13 § 1. 1. *ἐπορῶν—προσάγεσθαι* ‘being at a loss how to bring over to his own point of view,’ ‘despairing of influencing the populace, by human reasoning.’ *τοῖς*] those hitherto employed by him.

3. *ωσπερ ἐν τραγῳδίᾳ*] i.e. just as in a tragic performance a dramatist has recourse to supernatural machinery for solving a difficulty (*deus ex machina*), cf. c. 32. *μηχανήν δρᾶς*] Pollux 4, 128 ή μηχανὴ δὲ θεοῦς δείκνυσι καὶ ἥρωας τοὺς ἐν ἀέρι, Βελλεροφόντας ή Περσέας.

4. *ἐπῆγεν αὐτοῖς*, ‘brought to bear on them,’ as it were some engine of war, Marc. c. 15 ή δὲ ἀπὸ τοῦ γείγματος ἐπῆγε *μηχανὴν*. *σημεῖον λαμβάνων τὸ τοῦ δράκοντος*] *σημεῖον* serves as the predicate noun and must also be understood with *δράκοντος*, ‘taking for a portent that of the serpent (*Blaß*), not the incident of the serpent’ *der Vorfall mit (Sintenis)*. Cf. Her. VIII 14, 2 οἱ χρησμολόγοι ταῦτη ταῦτα ἔλαμβανον.

5. *δοκεῖ γενέσθαι*] 8, 3 l. 22. The story is found in Herod. VIII 41: *λέγουσι οἱ Ἀθηναῖοι, ὅφις μέγαν φύλακα τῆς ἀκροπόλιος ἐδιαιτέοσθαι ἐν τῷ ἱρῷ* (i.e. in the sanctuary (*σηκὼς*) of Athéna Polias which lay between the Erechtheum and the Pandroseum). *λέγουσι τε ταῦτα καὶ δὴ καὶ ὡς ἔνντι ἐπιμήνια (menstrua cibaria) ἐπιτελέοντι (sacra peragunt) προιθέντες (apponentes).* τὰ δὲ ἐπιμήνια, μελιτόσσα (‘honey-cake’) ἔστι. αὕτη δὴ μελιτόσσα, ἐν τῷ πρόσθετοι αἰεὶ χρόνῳ ἀναστιμονεῖη, τότε ην ἀψαυστος. *σημηγόσης δὲ ταῦτα τῆς λεπῆς μᾶλλον τι οἱ Ἀθηναῖοι καὶ προθυμότερον ἔξελικον τὴν πόλιν, ὡς καὶ τῆς θεοῦ ἀπάλελοικυῖης τὴν ἀκρόπολιν.* Cf. Arist. Lysist. 760.

6. *ἀπαρχῆς*, pr. ‘the firstlings for sacrifice,’ hence generally ‘offering,’ in this case the honey-cake which was daily served to the serpent (*καθ' ἡμέραν προιθεμένη*). *ἀψαύστος*, predicate adjective, G. § 138 R. *ἴδηγελλον*, ‘made known the secret.’

10. λόγον διδόντος, 'giving the explanation' of the phenomenon. Cf. Plato Phaed. p. 95 ο τῷ μὴ εἰδότι λόγον διδόνται (*rationem reddere*) ὡς κ.τ.λ. Cobet reads διαδόντος, for, says he, *famam sparserat Themistocles non rationes reddiderat*.

11. ὑφηγουμένη—ἀντροῖς, *ducem se praebens—eis*, 'shewing them the way.'

§ 2. τῷ χρησμῷ, given in full in 12 lines by Herod. vii 141:

τῶν ἀλλων γάρ διλισκομένων...
τεῦχος Τριτογενεῖ ξύλινον δίδοι Εὐρυοπα Ζεύς,
μοῦνον ἀπόρθητον τελέθειν, τὸ σὲ τέκνα τ' ὄντει.
* * * * *

ὡ θεὶ Σαλαμῖς, ἀπολεῖς δὲ σὺ τέκνα γυναικῶν
ἢ που σκιδναμένης Δημήτερος ἢ συνιούσῃς.

πάλιν, because the oracle had been delivered some time before, and he had already given this interpretation of it.

12. Ἐθημαγάγε, sc. αἴτοις, 'he sought to bend to his will,' not altogether without a dash of its usual meaning 'to talk over,' 'win by popular arts.'

13. δηλοῦσθαι, pass. *significari, declarari*.

14. σχετλαν, 'sad.' Them. ap. Herod. vii 143 εἰ ἐς Ἀθηναῖον εἶχε τὸ ἔκον εἰρημένον ἐόν τως, οὐκ ἀν οὕτω μηδ δοκέειν ἡπίως χρησθῆναι ἀλλὰ ὡδε; Ὡ σχετλὴ Σαλαμῖς, ἀντὶ τοῦ ὡ θεὶ Σαλαμῖς, εἰπερ γε ἔμελλον οἱ οἰκήτορες ἀμφ' αὐτῇ τελευτήσειν.

15. ὡς ἰσομένην, because he thought it would be: see above 4, 3; 7, 1.

16. ἐπώνυμον, 'giving its name to,' as ἀρχων ἐπώνυμος, the chief archon, was so called because 'he gave his name to' the current year, and οἱ ἐπώνυμοι ἥρωες were the heroes who gave their names to the ten Attic φυλαῖ; the word means also 'named after.'

16. κρατήσας τῇ γνώμῃ, 'when he had gained his point.'

17. ψήφισμα γράφει, literally 'writes down a bill,' i.e. brings in a bill (*suadet legem*) for ratification (*κυρῶν*) in the *ekklesia*. See Dict. Antiqu. 442 b, 805 b. Cobet thinks that the words of the decree are more likely to be given by Aristoteles II p. 256 ed. Dindorf (Θεμιστοκλῆς) γράφει ψήφισμα τοῦτο τὴν μὲν πόλιν παρακαταθέσθαι "Αθηνᾶ 'Αθηνῶν μεδεούση, παιδας δὲ καὶ γυναῖκας εἰς Τροιζῆνα ὑπεκθέσθαι, τοὺς δὲ πρεσβύτας εἰς Σαλαμῖνα, τοὺς δ' ἄλλους ἐμβάντας εἰς τὰς τριήρεις ὑπὲρ τῆς ἀλευθερίας ἀγωνίζεσθαι.

παρακαταθέσθαι κτλ., 'to give in trust to the tutelary goddess of Athens.' Cf. Quintilian inst. or. ix 2, 82 *Themistocles suassisce existimatur Atheniensibus, ut urbem apud deos deponerent, quia durum erat dicere ut relinquerent.*

18. τῷ 'Αθηναίων μεδεούσῃ, probably a quotation from the psephism, the phraseology of which was, as usual, archaic.

19. τοὺς ἐν ἡλικίᾳ, 'those of an age fit to serve,' 'able-bodied.'

20. παιᾶς καὶ γυναῖκας καὶ ἀνδράποδα] in English we say either 'children, wives and slaves,' or 'their children and wives and slaves,' or 'their children, their wives and their slaves,' but in enumeration in Greek the article must be used with each noun or may be omitted altogether. Cf. 6, 2 and see Middleton Grk Article p. 99.

ὡς δινατὸν, sc. ἔστιν.

§ 3. 22. οἱ πλευστοι] acc. to Herod. viii 41, some went to Aegina, others to Salamis. ὑπεξέθεντο, 'conveyed safely away' out of the reach of danger. Cf. Thuc. i 89, 3 διεκομίζοντο εὐθὺς δόθεν ὑπεξέθεντο παιᾶς καὶ γυναῖκας καὶ τὴν περιουσίαν κατασκευήν, Eur. Androm. 69 τὸν παιᾶν σον μέλλουσι... κτείνειν δι ξένω δωμάτων ὑπεξέθον.

23. γονέας καὶ γυναῖκας] see n. to § 21. 20. Τροιζῆνα] Troezen was a very ancient city, the capital of a small district in the S. E. angle of Argolis on the Saronic Gulf, opposite Aegina. It was the birthplace and home of Theseus (Eur. Hipp. 1097). Its inhabitants sent five ships of war to Salamis, and 1000 hoplites to Plataea.

23. φιλοτίμως πάνυ, 'quite eagerly,' 'with great emulation.'

25. θημοσίq, *publice, publicis sumptibus*, 'at the public expense.' Thuc. II 34, 46, III 58, VII 67, VI 27. δύο δραχμές, i.e. two obols daily. The Athenian dikasts received three obols (*τριώβολος*) a day (Perikl. 9, 3). ἀδεστρη, to each head of a family.

26. τῆς ὄπερας λαμβάνειν, 'to pick the fruit,' Gr. 170 § 1. Cf. Plut. quæst. conv. IV 6, 2 p. 671 D τραπέζας προΐθενται παντοδαής ὄπερας, i.e. 'of all kinds of fruit,' v 8, 1 p. 683 Β παρατεθείσης παντοδαής ὄπερας, VI 7, 1 τοὺς δραπούστους τὴν μικτείνην ὄπεραν, XVIII 10, 3 p. 784 Σ κατγορούσθη τῶν τοῦν καρπῶν καὶ τῆς φίλης ὄπερας, αἰατ. 5, 11 γλυκεῖ ὄπερα φύλακος ἐκλεοπάτος, de sol. anim. c. 16 p. 972 Λ ἀράλιας τῆς ὄπερας, Thea. p. 10 D συγκομιζόμενης ὄπερας, Sol. p. 87 Ε λάχανα κλέψαντα ἡ ὄπερα, Cat. ma. p. 351 Ε περὶ πηρόσεως ὄπερας γέγραφεν, Kim. c. 10 p. 484 D τῶν ἄγρων τοὺς φραγμοὺς αἴφειλεν, ἵνα τοὺς δεσμούστους ἑπερόχῃ λαμβάνειν τῆς ὄπερας, Alex. p. 693 D ὄπεραν Ἐλληνιστὸν εἰδὸν θαλάσσης τῷ βασιλεῖ κομίζεσσεν. Μετονόμαστος would be the Greek for 'in autumn-time.'

τοὺς παιδας] subject to the inf. λαμβάνειν. It might also have been τοῖς παισιν ἔξειναι.

27. ἔξειναι, *licere*, inf. dep. on δύνηθεσσατα.

28. Νικαγόρας] they sought and found in the name a good omen.

29. οὐκ δυναν θημοσίων χρημάτων] Cobet says that χρήματα δημόσια can only mean *pecunia quae aerario debetur*, and that therefore we should read ἐν τῷ δημοσιψι, *in aerario*.

30. τὴν δὲ Ἀρείου πάγου βουλὴν, 'the council of Areopagus,' called also ἡ ἀντι βουλή, which, as reformed by Solon, consisted of those who had performed the duties of archon unexceptionably. Independently of its jurisdiction as a criminal court in cases of wilful murder, it possessed extensive powers of a censorial and political nature. Plut. Solon c. 19 τὴν δὲ να βουλὴν ἐπίσκοπον πάγτων καὶ φύλακα τῶν ιδίων ἐκάθισεν, οἱόμενος ἐπὶ δυοι βουλαῖς ὥστερ ἀγκύραις δρμοῦσαν ἤττον ἐν σάλῳ τὴν πόλιν ἐσεσθαι καὶ μᾶλλον ἀτρεμοῦσα τὸν δῆμον παρέξειν. From the present passage it has been concluded that its authority extended to the public finances also, but it is more

probable that they had a treasury of their own, which enabled them to advance pay to the seamen at this crisis. Thirlwall *Hist. Gr.* Vol. III App. 1. Cf. Cic. de off. I § 75 et *Themistocles quidem nihil dixerit, in quo ipse Areopagum adiuverit, at ille vere ab se adiutum Themistoclem; est enim bellum gestum consilio senatus eius, qui a Solone erat constitutus.*

14 1. πορίσασαν, 'by providing,' G. § 277, 2.

2. αἰτιωτάτην, 'the chief cause.'

3. τοῦ πληρωθῆναι τὰς τριάρες, 'of the ships being manned,' G. § 262, 2. A 'ship's crew' is in Greek πλήρωμα. Κλείδημος] We cannot fix the exact date when Cleidemus flourished. Athenaeus ascribes to him a work entitled 'Αἴθις, the subject of which seems to have been the history and antiquities of Attica, also νόστοι and πρωτογονά and ἔξηγητικός, which appears to have been an antiquarian treatise in verse on religious rites and ceremonies.

§ 4. 4. ποιέται, 'considers,' 'reckons,' 'represents, as his own opinion,' cf. Marius I p. 406, 13 τούτῳ τῷ λόγῳ διωνύμους ποιεῖται τὰς γυναῖκας. στρατίγημα, 'a piece of generalship,' hence generally 'any artifice.' G. § 137 n. 4.

5. Περαιῶ] G. § 53, 3 note 3.

6. τὸ Γοργόνεον, 'the Gorgon's head,' from the old statue of Athéne in the Erechtheum. Such statues they would naturally take with them.

8. [ῃτεῖν] sc. τὸ Γοργόνειον. χρημάτων πλῆθος, 'a great amount of money.' Thuc. I 9, 2, Plat. Phaedr. p. 279 c χρυσοῦ πλῆθος. ἀνευρίσκειν, not ἀνευρεῖν, because he found it several times.

9. ἀποσκευᾶς, *sarcinis, impedimentis*, 'baggage.' Polyb. hist. I 66, 7 βουλόμενον αὐτοῦ καταλιπεῖν τὰς ἀποσκευάς, 9 ἤργακασαν αὐτοὺς τὰς ἀποσκευὰς μεθ' αὐτῶν ἀταγαγεῖν; 68, 3; III 85, 5, Plut. Marc. c. 11 p. 303 ε. Alex. c. 24 p. 878 Λ Ἐλαβεν τὰ χρήματα καὶ τὰς ἀποσκευὰς. The sing. is more frequently used by Plutarch.

10. *εἰς μέσον, in medium* (Virgil, Georg. I. 127), *in commune, 'before the public,' 'as common property.'* Cf. Xen. Cypor. II 1, 14 καταθεῖτα ὅπλα εἰς τὸ μέσον, Oecon. 7, 26 τὴν μνήμην καὶ τὴν ἐπιμέλειαν εἰς τὸ μέσον ἀμφοτέρους κατέθηκεν, Plato Phileb. c. 4 p. 14 B μὴ ἀποκρυπτόμενοι, κατατιθέντες δὲ εἰς τὸ μέσον, de legg. IV c. 9 p. 719 A βούλομαι ὑμᾶς εἰς τὸ μέσον αὐτὸν θεῖνα. **εὐπορῆσαι** ἔφοδιων, 'they had abundance of necessaries,' not 'he supplied the crew with abundance' (Stewart), which would require *εὐπορῆσαι τοῖς ἐμβαλυνούσιν ἔφοδια*. Cf. Xen. Hell. I 6, 19 σίτων οὐδαμόθεν ήν εὐπορῆσαι, Vectig. VI 1 ὁ δῆμος τροφῆς εὐπορήσει, rep. Lac. XI 2 πάντων τούτων εὐποροῦσι, Lucian Anach. c. 9 εὐπορῆσαι μῆλων, Lys. de Arist. bon. p. 154, 15 χρημάτων εὐπορήσειν. **ἔφοδια** = lat. *viaticum*, 'supplies for travelling,' 'money and provisions.'

§ 5. 11. ἐκπλεύστης τῆς πόλεως, emphatically, 'as the whole city put to sea.'

12. θάμα] subj. of *παρεῖχε*.

13. θαύμα τῆς τόλμης, 'admiration of their courage,' object to *παρεῖχε*. G. § 167, 3. **γενέδες**, 'families,' i.e. wife and children, a common meaning in Plutarch, not noticed in Liddell-Scott.

Cf. Romp. c. 28 p. 933 C οἱ πλεῖστοι γενέδες αὐτῶν καὶ χρήματα καὶ τὸν ἄληρηστον ὄχλον ἐν φρουρίοις εἰχον ἀποκείμενα, C. Caesar c. 20 p. 717 B γενέδες καὶ κτήσεις ἐν τηις βιθὺ τῆς ὑλῆς ἀπωτάτοι θέμενοι, de Herod. mal. o. 84 ὅπως ὑπεκύοντο γενέδες καὶ τὸ οἰκετικόν, Timol. c. 4 μετοικεῖν πρὸς Σύρακοσίους χρήματα καὶ γενέδες ἀποδιόντες, Polyb. Hist. 20, 6, 6 πολλοὶ τῶν ἐχόντων γενέδες ἀπεμέριζον τοῖς συσστιοῖς τὸ πλεόν μέρος τῆς οὐσίας, Dionys. H. A. R. 2 15 ἀπασαν ἀρρενα γενέαν ἐκτρέφειν.

προπεμπόντων, 'as they escorted them on their road elsewhere,' G. § 183.

14. αὐτῶν δ' ἀκάμπτων, sc. δυτῶν, 'while they themselves remained unbending,' 'undisturbed.' Cf. vit. Lycurg. c. 11 τὸ ἀπαθὲς αὐτοῦ τῆς ψυχῆς καὶ τὸ πρὸς τοὺς πόνους ἀκαμπτον.

15. γονέων, parents, the aged folk who were left behind.

περιβολὰς, 'embraces,' Xen. Cyp. VII 3 (de sugentibus catellis) τῶν μητέρων καὶ τὸ γάλα ἀγαθὸν καὶ τὸ πνεῦμα καὶ al

περιβολαῖ φίλαι, Plut. C. Gracch. c. 15 p. 841 οἱ ἀτρέμα τὰς περιβολὰς ἀπολυσάμενος αὐτῆς, Anton. i 49 p. 939 οἱ πρὸς δάκρυα καὶ περιβολὰς ἀλλήλων ἐτράποντο, Dio c. 46 p. 978 οἱ χαρὰν καὶ περιβολὰς ἑργῷ τηλικούτῳ πρεπούστας οὐ πάρεσχεν ὁ καιρός.

16. *καλτοί, quamquam,* ‘and yet,’ ‘though,’ as corrective of the previous statement, 11, 8. πολλοί—τῶν πολιτῶν] G. § 168.

17. *Θεον εἶχον,* ‘excited pity.’ So *συγγνώμην έχειν, αἰτιαν έχειν* 21, 3; *πίστιν έχειν* 12, 3; *δόξαν έχειν* 18, 2.

18. *συντρόφων,* ‘domestic.’ Xen. Mem. II 3, 4 πρὸς φίλαν μέγα ὑπάρχει τὸ δόμοῦ τραφῆναι, ἐπει καὶ τοῖς θηροῖς πᾶθος της ἐγγίγνεται τῶν συντρόφων, Plut. Aem. Paul. c. 10 p. 260 οὐ γάρ οἰσθα’ ἐφ’ ὃ πάτερ, δοτὶ ἡμῖν ὁ Περσεὺς τέθνηκε; λέγουσαν κυνίδιον σύντροφον οὕτω προσαγορευόμενον, Her. II 65 τὰ μὲν (θηρία) σύντροφα αὐτοῖσι τοῖς ἀνθράκοισι, Pausan. VII 13, 2 οὕτε τὸ θηρίον τοῦτό (lupus) ἔστιν ἀνθρώποις σύντροφον.

19. *γλυκυθυμία,* ‘fondness,’ ‘tenderness of feeling’; *ἔπικλωστα,* ‘heart-moving, touching,’ ‘making their hearts yearn.’ Cf. Thuc. III 59 ἐπικλασθῆναι τῇ γνώμῃ οἰκτῷ σώφρονι λαβόντας, 67, 2 μὴ παλαιὰς ἀρετὰς...ἀκούοντες ἐπικλασθῆτε, Plut. Pericl. c. 37 p. 172 η̄ παροῦσα δυστυχία τῷ Περικλεῖ...ἐπέκλασε τοὺς Ἀθηναῖους, Demosth. c. 22 p. 856 οἱ ὄρωντες ἐπικλῶντα πολλοὺς καὶ ἀποθηλύοντα...πρὸς οἰκτον, Marcell. c. 20 p. 310 η̄ ἐπικλασθεὶς ἀφῆκε πάντας, ib. c. 20 p. 311 ε, Lys. c. 15 p. 441 ε, Alex. c. 62 p. 700 η̄, Demetr. c. 47 p. 912 ε, Anton. c. 18 p. 923 η̄, c. 33 p. 931 η̄. μετ’ ὠρυγῆς καὶ πόθου, ‘with yearning howls,’ ‘with whining and pining.’ Zenodotus ap. Valckenaeer ad Ammon. p. 283 ὠρυγὴ κυρίως η̄ τῶν κυνῶν φωνή, καὶ ὠρύεσθαι, ‘ὡς λύκος ὠρυοίμην’ παρὰ Καλλιμάχῳ, ὠρύεσθαι γάρ ἐπὶ λύκων εἶπεν. Cf. Theocr. Id. 2, 85 ταὶ κύνες δύμιν ἀνὰ πτύοις ὠρύονται.

20. *συμπαραθεντῶν,* ‘as they ran along with them.’ Demosth. Phil. I § 41 p. 53 οὖν ἐν Πύλαις ἐκεῖσε, οὖν ἀλλοθέ που, συμπαραθεῖτε δύω κάτω.

21. *ἐν οἷς, sc. ἕψοις.*

23. ἀναλίσθαι, 'jumped into the sea.' G. § 187.
τῇ τριήρει] G. § 187.

24. ἀκτοστῖν, an expressive word, as here, 'was drifted,' 'cast ashore' rather than 'swam,' 18, 1. So Hom. Odyss. 7, 283
ἐκ δὲ ἐπεσον θυμηρέτων. οὐδὲ] gen. after τάφος.

CHAPTER XI

§ 1. 28. Cf. Arist. c. 8. The *τε* answers to *kai* before *τοὺς πολίτας*, for which the regular construction should have been *καὶ δι τοὺς πολ.* or *τὸν αἰσθέσθαι τοὺς π.*, 'these, then, were Themistokles' great achievements as also was this, that *etc.*'; instead of which an independent construction is used. For the position of the genitive cf. below 6, 2, Kimon c. v 1 τὰ δὲ δόλλα πάντα τοῦ Ηθούς ἀγαστά καὶ γενναῖα τοῦ Κιμώνος, Philop. c. 13 ταῦτα μὲν οὖν καλὰ τοῦ Φιλοποιούντος.

29. αἰσθόμενος ποθοῦντας] G. § 280.

30. τῷ βαρβάρῳ προσθέτες ἁυτὸν] Arist. l. c. μὴ προσθέμενος τοῖς πολεμοῖς διαφθείρῃ καὶ μεταστήσῃ πολλοὺς τῶν πολιτῶν πρὸς τὸν βάρβαρον.

μὴ—διατρέψῃ, 'lest he should upset,' 'ruin,' G. § 218. Cf. Dinarch. c. Demosth. p. 94, 8 εἰς ποιὰ οὐτος πράγματα εἰσελθὼν η̄ ιδια η̄ κοινὰ οὐκ ἀνατέτραφεν; Dem. c. Aristog. i § 82 p. 779, 26: τίς ἀν ἀλλος μᾶλλος διατρέψειε τὴν πόλιν;

1. τὰ πράγματα] 6, 1.

15

2. καταστασιασθεῖς, see above 5, 4 l. 28 n. According to Plut. Arist. c. 8 Aristeides was ostracised Ol. 74, 2 = b.c. 483, according to Nepos his ostracism was in Ol. 73, 4 = b.c. 485, his recall in Ol. 75, 1 = b.c. 480.

4. γράφει φίγισμα, 'moves (lit. 'pens' c. 10 § 2) a decree.' From Arist. l. c. it would appear that Themistokles himself was not the mover of the decree, and it is a question whether Plutarch found this in his authorities. A decree of the people, by which the ἄτιμοι (6, 2) were restored and exiles recalled, is mentioned by Andokides de mysteriis § 77 and § 107

Ἐγνωσαν τούς τε φυγόντας καταδέξασθαι καὶ τοὺς ἀτίμους ἐπιτίμους ποιῆσαι, as published at the time of the Persian war. Murderers and tyrants however were excluded from the amnesty (Andoc. § 78). Similarly Plut. limits the amnesty to those who were under temporary banishment, τοῖς ἐπὶ χρόνῳ μεθεστῶσιν, cf. 5, 4. For ἐπὶ χρόνῳ Cobet would read ἐπὶ χρονοῦ.

5. κατελθοῦσι, 'on their return from exile': Herod. v 30 εἰ κως κατέλθοιεν εἰς ἁυτῶν, Thuc. i 113, 4 οἱ φυγάδες Βοιωτῶν κατελθόντες... αὐτόνομοι πάλιν ἔγενοτο, iv 66, 3 τοὺς ἐκπεσόντας ὑπὸ σφῶν κατελθεῖν. So κατάγειν means *reducere in patriam*, 'to recal from banishment,' in Herod., Thuc., Plato, Xen., Plutarch. πράττειν καὶ λέγειν] subject of ἔξειναι, G. § 259. The two verbs combined indicate full political privileges.

§ 2. 8. δέξωμα, *dignitas*, 'rank,' 'consideration due to,' Thuc. i 18 οἱ Δακεδαιμόνιοι ὑμπολεμησάντων Ἐλλήνων ἡγήσαντο δυνάμει προέχοντες. So when Alexander claimed to be leader of the army destined for the invasion of Persia, the rank was ceded to him by all but the Lacedaemonians, who replied μηδένα σφίσι πάτριον ἀκολουθεῖν ἀλλοι, ἀλλ' αὐτοὺς ἀλλων ἔξηγεισθαι, Arrian Anabasis i, 1. μαλακοῦ] 6, 1. περὶ τὸν κίνδυνον] Cobet suggests παρὰ τὸν κίνδυνον, 8, 1, and ἀπαρειν for αἴρειν, without reason.

9. αἴρειν, 'to get under way,' 'to start,' intrans. as often used by Thucydides whether of a journey by land or a sea voyage, ii 25, 3 ἄραντες—παρέπλεον, 55, 6 ἄραντες ἀπ' αὐτῶν (τῶν ἐπιθαλασσιών τόπων) ἀφίκοντο ἐς Πρασιάς, 103 ἄραντες ἐκ τῆς Ἀκαρναίας καὶ ἀφικόμενοι ἐς τὴν Ναυπάκτου, iii 32 ἄρας ἐκ τοῦ Ἐμβάτου παρέπλει, 91, 3, iv 45 ἄραντες ἐπλευσαν, v 3, 3 ἄρας περιέπλει, vi 94, vii 26, 69, viii 28, 32 and with dative. i 29 ἄραντες καῦσι καὶ ὀπλίταις ἐπλεον, iv 129, 3, ii 23, 2 ἄραντες τῷ παρασκευῇ ταύτῃ ἐπλεον, iii 95 ἄρας τῷ στρατεύματι, iv 11, 2 ἄραντες τῷ στρατῷ, vi 43, 51, viii 60, 2, Plutarch Camill. c. 40 Κέλτους, αὖθις ἀπὸ τῆς Ἀδριατικῆς ἄραντας θαλάσσης μυριάσι πολλάις ἐπὶ τὴν Ρώμην ἐλαύνειν, Poplic. c. 22 ἄραντες στρατῷ
Ag. In Thuc. viii 39, 1 we have the word applied to

the ships themselves ἔπειτα καὶ εἰκοσι γῆς δρασαι ἐπλεον, which seems to show that τὰς ἀγύνας is not, as is commonly supposed, to be understood, but cf. Pomp. c. 80 ἔφυγον ἀράμενοι τὰς ἀγύνας. The δέ is used after αἵρειν instead of τε because of the negative notion implied in μαλακοῦ = 'wanting in spirit,' see n. to 27, 2.

11. ὅτε καὶ, 'at which time among other things, they say, the following well-known characteristic sayings (Fr. 'ana') or apophthegms were uttered.' Cf. Plut. praec. ger. reip. c. xv p. 811 B τὸ τοῦ Ἀγυσθένους μημονευόμενον, Fab. Max. c. 26 p. 189 οἱ εἰπών τὸ μημονευόμενον, Marc. c. 21 p. 210 c, Cat. c. 15 p. 344 F. This meaning is omitted in L.-S. Cf. below c. 18 § 1.

12. γαρ, 'namely,' introduces the promised narrative. The first anecdote is told also by Herodotus VIII 59, but he makes Adeimantus the Corinthian the interlocutor: ὡς δὲ ἔρα συνελέχθησαν (οἱ ἡγεμόνες), τρίνη ἡ τὸν Εὐρυβάδην προθεῖναι τὸν λόγιον τῶν εἰνεκα συνήγαγε τοὺς στρατηγούς, πολὺς δὲ ὁ Θεμιστοκλέης ἐν τοῖσι λόγοισι, οὐα κάρτα δεόμενος λέγωντος δὲ αὐτῷ, ὁ Κορινθίος στρατηγὸς Ἀδειμαντος ὁ ὄπιτον εἶπε· 'Οἱ Θεμιστόκλεες, ἐν τοῖσι ἀγώνισι οἱ προεξαντλήμενοι ραπίζονται.' ὁ δὲ ἀπολιούμενος ἔφη 'Οι δέ γε ἔγκαταλειπόμενοι οὐ στεφανεῦνται.'

14. τοὺς προεξαντλημένους, 'those who start before the signal is given,' or 'before their turn.' They were kept in order by the rods of the beadleς (βαθδοῦχοι or 'Ελλανοδίκαιοι Paus. vi 2, 1) in the employ of the stewards of the games (ἀθλοθέται). So we read in Thuc. v 50 that one Lichas ὑπὸ τῶν βαθδούχων πληγὴς θλήσει for a breach of the rules of the course: cf. Xen. Hell. III 2, 21.

16. τοὺς ἀπολειφθέντας, 'those who are left, lag behind.' Xen. Cyr. I 4, 20 πρῶτος ἤγειρο ταχέως καὶ ὁ Κναξέρης μέντοι ἐφείπετο καὶ οἱ Ἑλλαῖς δὲ οὐκ ἀπολειπούστοι, Plato Sophist. p. 243 A εἰτ' ἀπακολουθούμεν...εἰτ' ἀπολειπόμενα, Crat. 412 A, Isocr. Eupr. § 79 p. 29, 7 παρακελεύονται τῷν δραμέων οἱ τοῦτο ἀπολελειμμένοις ἀλλὰ τοῖς περὶ τῆς πίκης ἀμιλλωμένοις, Nicokles § 19 οὐκ ἀπολειπούσται τῷν καιρῷν, Plut. de adul. § 16 p. 58 F

ἀπολιμπανδρεος θεότων ὡσπερ ὁ Ἰμεράιος ἀπελείφθη δια-
θέων πρὸς Ἀλέξανδρον,

§ 2. ἐπαραμένου τὴν βακτηρίαν, 'raising his staff, as though he would strike him.' G. § 199, 3, If he had done so, it would have been in keeping with the Spartan character: Thuc. viii 84 τῷ Δωρεῖ ξυναγορεύοντι τοὺς ἑαυτοῦ ναῦτας ἐπα-
νήρατο τὴν βακτηρίαν (i.e. ὡς πλήξων Schol.), Xen. Hell. vi 2, 19 ἀποκριναμένων δὲ τῶν λοχαγῶν...τὸν μέν τινα βακτη-
ρίᾳ, τὸν δὲ τῷ στύρακι ἐπάταξεν.

19. πραότητα, 'composure,' 'repression of feeling,'
(δργιλότητα, 'excitability.'

20. ἀνήγειν αὐτὸν ἐπὶ τὸν λόγον, 'was bringing him back to his former proposal, when some one exclaimed'; according to Her. viii 61 this was Adeimantus.

22. [ἀπολιμ] because Athens was in the enemy's hands. οὐκ ὄφεις διδάσκοι, 'had no right to admonish.' G. § 243. τοὺς ἔχοντας, sc. πόλιν, to be understood from ἀπολιμ, 'those who possessed one.' τοὺς ξ. might also mean 'men of substance' as in Arist. Eq. 1295, Pl. 596. ἔγκαταλιπεν, *derelin-
quere*, 'to forsake,' since the Peloponnesian states were threatened by the enemy's land forces.

24. ἐπιστρέψας τὸν λόγον, 'turning his conversation to' the man who had interrupted him. τοι, 'yes,' 'assuredly.' ἐ μοχθῷ, 'you wretch!'

26. οὐκ ἀξιοῦντες, 'disdaining,' 7, 2.

27. πόλις δ' ἡμῖν] Cf. Thuc. vii 77 ἄνδρες γὰρ πόλις καὶ
οὐ τείχη οὐδὲ ρῆγες ἄνδρῶν κεναι. The remark is not so pointed in Herodotus ὡς εἰη ἑαυτοῖσι καὶ πόλις καὶ γῆ...ἴστη ἀν διηκόσιαι
νέες σφι ξωσι πεπληρωμέναι. Cf. Sir W. Jones' Ode:

'What constitutes a state?

Not high-raised battlement or laboured mound;

Nor: men; high-minded men,' &c.

which is borrowed from the fragment of Alcaeus:

οὐ λίθοι

τελέων εῦ δεδομαρένοι,
δλλ' ἀνδρες πάλεος πύργος ἀρήσοι.

Justin Hist. ii 12, 15 makes Themistokles say *patriam municipes esse, non moenia, civitatemque non in aedificiis, sed in civibus positam.*

28. θιακόσιαι] 180 Athenian; 20 Chalkidian.

29. βουλομένοις, 'if you choose,' G. 277, 4.

§ 4. 20. Σεύτερον] 9, 2. πεύσεται τις Ἑλλήνες] 'many a one of the Hellenes (a litotes for πάντες Ἑλλῆνες) will hear of the Athenians being in possession both of a free city,' a severer form of threat than if they had said directly πεύσεσθε ἡμᾶς κεκτημένους. Herodotus viii 62 makes them speak more definitely of his plan: *ei δὲ ταῦτα μὴ ποιήσεις, ημεῖς μὲν ὡς ἔχομεν ἀναλαβήσοτε τὸν οἰκέτας κομισμένα ἐς Σέριν τὴν ἐν Ἰταλίῃ, ἥπερ ἡμετέρη τέ ἐστι ἐν παλαιῷ ἔτι, καὶ τὰ λόγια λέγει ὑπ' ἡμέων αὐτῷ δέεις κτισθήσαις ὑμεῖς δὲ συμμάχων τοιῶνδε μουρωθήσετε μεμήσεσθε τῶν ἐμῶν λόγων.*

28. τὸς ἀπόβαλον] G. § 153 n. 1.

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4. Εἰσχε] 9, 2. Σέος τῶν Ἀθηναίων μὴ (G. 167, 3), for δέος μὴ οἱ Ἄθ. (anticipation of the subject). σφᾶς] G. § 144, 2 (a).

5. τοῦ Ἐρετρίως, 'the Eretrian commander' (Blass), not 'the Eretrian' with whose name the anecdote is associated (*Sintenis*). The anecdote is not recorded by Herodotus. Eretria was a town on the western coast of Euboea, just south of Chalkis, next to which it was the most important place in the island. It is mentioned by Homer Iliad ii 537. The original town was destroyed by the Persians in B.C. 490, but afterwards rebuilt.

6. τι λέγειν, 'to say something.' Its usual meaning is 'to say something to the point,' (οὐδὲτε λέγειν 'to talk nonsense')

7. *αι τευθίδες*, 'a kind of cuttle-fish' or 'squid.' Koräes has the following note on this passage: *τευτθίδες* = τὰ ἐν τῇ συνηθείᾳ καλούμενα καλαμάρια, μετενεχθέντος ἵσω τοῦ δύναματος ἀπὸ τοῦ ἐν τῇ αὐτῇ συνηθείᾳ Καλαμαρίου τοῦ σημαίνοντος τὴν τῶν γραφικῶν καλάμων θήκην ἀμα τε καὶ τοῦ γραφικοῦ μέλανος δοχεῖον. οὐδὲ τὸν ἐν ταῖς τευθίσι θολόν, διὸ γε μὴν κατακρίως μελάντερον ἔχει ἡ σητία καὶ αὐτὴ τοῦ γένους οὐσία τῶν μαλακίων, ὥσπερ καὶ ἡ τευθίς. "Ο δὲ λέγει περὶ τῆς μαχαρίας καὶ τῆς καρδίας τοιούτων ἔστιν. 'Οὐδέν' ὡς φησιν Ἀριστοτέλης (hist. anim. iv 1) τῶν 'μαλακίων (molluscs) ἔχει σπλάχνον, τῶν δὲ ἑντὸς τῆς τε σητίας καὶ τῆς τευθίδος δύο στερεῶν τὸ μὲν καλεῖται σήπιαν τὸ δὲ ξίφος (= μάχαιρα)."

CHAPTER XII

§ 1. 10. *τιναν]* not by Herodotus. τὸν μὲν—*γλαῦκα*
§ 2] the simultaneous concurrence of two events is more often
marked by *τε—καὶ*.

12. *ἄνωθεν*] to be taken with *ἀπὸ τοῦ καταστρώματος*, of which it forms a closer definition, unless with Cobet we are to consider the word as a gloss. *γλαῦκα*] the bird of the goddess of war: a similar omen at the battle of Marathon is recorded by the chorus in the Parabasis of the *Vespas* of Aristophanes v 1086 *ἐνωδίμεσθε* (*τὸν βάρβαρον*) ξὺν θεοῖς τρὸς ἐπέτρεψας, γλαῦξ γάρ ήμῶν τρὸς μάχεσθαι τὸν στρατὸν δέπτητο.

13. *δυὸς δεξιῶν]* The Greek augurs always faced the north in their observation of omens, and since those that were lucky came from the east, they were on their right: while the unlucky, coming from the west, were on their left. The Romans, on the contrary, turned their faces towards the south, and therefore had the eastern or fortunate signs on the left, hence *laetus* and *sinister* in augural language meant 'fortunate,' and when 'dexter' has the same meaning, it is from a Greek point of view. τῶν *τινῶν* goes with *διατετομένην*. Cf. Pyrrh. c. 13 *θροῦς διέδραμε τῆς ἐκκλησίας*.

14. *τοῖς καρχηστοῖς*, 'the mast-head.' Cf. Eur. Hec.
τι πενοῦσαν ἐκ καρχηστῶν.

15. προσέθεντο τῇ γνώμῃ, 'agreed with his (Themistokles') opinion.' Herod. i 109 οὐ οἱ ἔγωγε προσθήσομαι τῇ γνώμῃ, π 120 τῷ λόγῳ τῷ λεχθέντι προστίθεμαι, Thuc. i 20, 4, v 62, 1, vi 50 προστέθετο τῇ Ἀλκιβιάδου γνώμῃ, Xen. Anab. i 6, 10 ταῦτη τῇ γνώμῃ ἐφῆ καὶ τοὺς ὄλλους προσθέσθαι.

16. παρεσκευάζοντο ναυμαχήσοντες] Cobet would read ὡς ναυμαχήσωτες. ἀλλ᾽ ἐπει] the conclusion is l. 26 θνθα δῆ. See Herod. viii 67.

17. στόλος προσφερόμενος, *classis adnotata*. κατὰ τὸ Φαληρικὸν, 'at the shore of the Phaleric gulf.' Phalerum or Phalerus, a demus belonging to the tribe Aeantis, was at the south-eastern corner of the gulf, which is named after it (*μετὰ τὸν Πειραιά Φαληρεῖς δῆμος ἐν τῷ ἐφεξῆς παραλίᾳ* Strabo ix p. 398), now called Treis Ippoures.

18. πτίκρυψεν, *obtexit*, 'covered,' so as to hide from view.

20. δέροντ, *omnibus copiis, universo exercitu*, 'with all his force assembled.' Cf. Sull. c. 13 p. 458 Ταῦτα ἀθροῦν ἐπέστη, Eum. c. 5 p. 585 Π τῇ φλαγγῇ αὐτοῦ διεσταρμένη δθρον ἐτελέσας, Pomp. c. 20 p. 629 Λ τραγούμενον τρὸς ταύτας ἐκτενεῖ δθροντι ἐπιφανεῖς καὶ συνάψας μάχην, Luc. c. 27 p. 509 Π ὑπερβαλὼν τὸν Ταῦρον δθροντι κατεφάνη. In classical Greek it is only used with plural or collective nouns.

21. τὸν δὲ δυνάμεν δμοῦ γενομένων, 'when, I say, the two forces, land and naval, were combined.' A summary of the previous statement. ξερρύσαν τῶν Ἑλλήνων, effuserunt, exciderunt, 'slipped from their memory.'

22. ἐπιπτωντο πρὸς, 'looked wistfully to.'

24. ἔδοκα δὲ, 'but they resolved.' The δὲ is adversative to the negation implied in χαλεπαίνωστες ἥκουος; cf. 11, 2. τῆς νυκτὸς, 'the next night.' Cf. 7, 4.

25. παρηγγέλλετο πλοῦς τοῖς κυβερνήταις, 'the steersmen had orders given them to prepare for sailing.' This is the picture drawn by Plutarch: according to Herodotus matters did not go so far.

26. ήθα δη, *tum demum*, 'then and not until then,' 'just then.' βαρίως φέρου ει, 'vexed at the idea of.' Some verbs expressing wonder, indignation or disapprobation, joy or surprise, take a protasis with *ει*, where a causal sentence would seem more natural. Madv. Gr. Synt. § 194 c, Clyde § 48 *obs.* 2, G. § 228.

27. ει τήν κ.τ.λ.] the advantage of a battle at Salamis, and the disadvantage of returning, Herod. VIII 57 and 60, 2; in the latter case κατά πόλις (distributive) ἔκαστοι τρέψονται. τῶν στεγῶν] 8, 1; 14, 2.

28. τήν περ τὸν Σίκιννον πραγματείαν, 'the well-known affair with Sikinnus.'

§ 2. Herod. c. 75, who however does not speak of Sikinnus as a Persian or as a prisoner of war. It is surmised that Plutarch read Herodotus' words πέμπει ἐς τὸ στρατόπεδον τὸ Μῆδων δυνδρα πλοιῷ carelessly, as if he had written τῶν Μῆδων ἀνδρα.

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'Ηράκλεον, 'above the temple of Heracles,' upon one of the projecting declivities of mount Aegaleos, the mountain-range by which the Eleusinian and Athenian plains are separated. Cf. Diod. Sic. xi 18, Ktesias Exe. pers. § 26 ἐν στεγώταρος τῆς Ἀττικῆς, ὁ Ἡράκλειον καλέσται. The exact position of Xerxes' seat was satisfactorily ascertained by Admiral Sir S. Stirling and Sir J. G. Wilkinson in 1843, as the latter tells us in Rawlinson's *Herod.* viii 90.

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12. σφαγαζομένη, 'while he was sacrificing,' to get favourable omens; without which no one would venture to begin a battle.

7. εἰ τευθίδες, 'a kind of cuttle-fish' or 'squid.' Korées has the following note on this passage: *τευτθίδες*=τὰ ἐν τῷ συνηθεῖ καλούμενα καλαμάρια, μετενεχθέντος ἵστως τοῦ δυόματος ἀπὸ τοῦ ἐν τῇ αὐτῇ συνηθεῖ καλαμαρίου τοῦ σημανοτός τὴν τῶν γραφικῶν καλάμων θήκην ἀμα τε καὶ τοῦ γραφικοῦ μέλανος δοχεῖον. διὸ τὸν ἐν ταῖς τευθίσι θολόν, ὃν γε μὴν κατακόρως μελάντερον ἔχει ἡ σηκλα καὶ αὐτῇ τοῦ γένους οὖσα τῶν μαλακίων, ὥσπερ καὶ ἡ τευθίδη. "Ο δὲ λέγει περὶ τε τῆς μαχαρίας καὶ τῆς καρδίας τοιοῦτον ἔστιν. 'Ούδεν' ὡς φησιν 'Ἀριστοτέλης' (hist. anim. iv 1) τῶν 'μαλακίων' (molluscs) ἔχει σπλάχνον, τῶν δὲ ἑρτὸς τῆς τε σηκλας καὶ τῆς τευθίδος δύο στερεῶν τὸ μὲν καλεῖται σήκιον τὸ δὲ ξέφος (=μάχαιρα)."

CHAPTER XII

§ 1. 10. τυνεν] not by Herodotus. τὸν μὲν—γλαῦκα
§ 2] the simultaneous concurrence of two events is more often marked by τε—καὶ.

12. ἄνωθεν] to be taken with ἀπὸ τοῦ καταστρόματος, of which it forms a closer definition, unless with Cobet we are to consider the word as a gloss. γλαῦκα] the bird of the goddess of war: a similar omen at the battle of Marathon is recorded by the chorus in the Parabasis of the *Vespae* of Aristophanes v 1086 ἀωδάμεσθε (τὸν βάρβαρον) ξὺν θεοῖς τρὸς ἄτταρας, γλαῦξ γὰρ ἡμῶν τρὸς μάχεσθαι τὸν στρατὸν δέπτετο.

13. δὲ δεξιᾶς] The Greek augurs always faced the north in their observation of omens, and since those that were lucky came from the east, they were on their right: while the unlucky, coming from the west, were on their left. The Romans, on the contrary, turned their faces towards the south, and therefore had the eastern or fortunate signs on the left, hence *laevus* and *sinister* in augural language meant 'fortunate,' and when 'dexter' has the same meaning, it is from a Greek point of view. τὸν νέων goes with διαπετομένη. Cf. Pyrrh. c. 18 θροῦ διέδραμε τῆς ἐκκλησίας.

14. τοῖς καρχηστοῖς, 'the mast-head.' Cf. Eur. Hec. 1261 πεσούσας ἐκ καρχηστῶν.

15. προσέθεντο τῇ γνώμῃ, 'agreed with his (Themistokles') opinion.' Herod. i 109 οὐ οἱ ἔγωγε προσθήσομαι τῇ γνώμῃ, ii 120 τῷ λόγῳ τῷ λεχθέντι προστίθεμαι, Thuc. i 20, 4, v 62, 1, vi 50 προσέθετο τῷ Ἀλκιβιάδου γνώμῃ, Xen. Anab. i 6, 10 ταῦτη τῇ γνώμῃ ἐφη καὶ τοὺς ἄλλους προσθέσθαι.

16. παρεσκευάζοντο ναυμαχήσοντες] Cobet would read ὡς ναυμαχήσωστες. ἀλλ᾽ ἐπει] the conclusion is l. 26 ξύθα δῆ. See Herod. viii 67.

17. στόλος προσφέρομενος, *classis admota.* κατὰ τὸ Φαληρικὸν, 'at the shore of the Phaleric gulf.' Phalerum or Phalerus, a demus belonging to the tribe Aeantis, was at the south-eastern corner of the gulf, which is named after it (*μετὰ τὸν Πειραιάν Φαληρέis δῆμος ἐν τῇ ἐφεξῆς παραλίᾳ* Strabo ix p. 398), now called Treis Pýrgos.

18. μείκραψεν, *obtexit,* 'covered,' so as to hide from view.

20. ἀθροις, *omnibus copiis, universo exercitu,* 'with all his force assembled.' Cf. Sull. a. 12 p. 458 Υ τὰς ἀθροις ἐπέστη, Eum. c. 5 p. 585 D τῇ φλαγγῇ αὐτοῦ διεσπαρμένη ἀθροις ἐπελάσας, Pomp. c. 20 p. 629 Δ τραπομένου πρὸς ταύτας ἑκείνου ἀθροις ἐπιφανεῖς καὶ συνάψας μάχην, Luc. c. 27 p. 509 D ὑπερβαλὼν τὸν Ταῦρον ἀθροις κατεφάγη. In classical Greek it is only used with plural or collective nouns.

21. τὸν δὲ θυμάσιον ὅμοι γενομένων, 'when, I say, the two forces, land and naval, were combined.' A summary of the previous statement. οἱερόντας τῶν Ἑλλήνων, effugerunt, exciderunt, 'slipped from their memory.'

22. ἐπάπταινον πρὸς, 'looked wistfully to.'

24. ἀδόκα δὲ, 'but they resolved.' The δὲ is adversative to the negation implied in χαλεπαίνοντες ἥκουο; cf. 11, 2. τῆς νυκτὸς, 'the next night.' Cf. 7, 4.

25. παρηγγέλλετο πλεῦς τοῖς κυβερνήταις, 'the steersmen had orders given them to prepare for sailing.' This is the picture drawn by Plutarch: according to Herodotus matters did not go so far.

26. ήνθα δι, *tum demum*, 'then and not until then,' 'just then.' βαρέως φέρων ει, ' vexed at the idea of.' Some verbs expressing wonder, indignation or disapprobation, joy or surprise, take a protasis with ει, where a causal sentence would seem more natural. Madv. Gr. Synt. § 194 c, Clyde § 48 obs. 2, G. § 228.

27. ει την κ.τ.λ.] the advantage of a battle at Salamis, and the disadvantage of returning, Herod. VIII 57 and 60, 2; in the latter case κατὰ πόλις (distributive) ἐκαστοι τρέψουσαι. τῶν στανῶν] 8, 1; 14, 2.

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12. σφαιγιαζομένη, 'while he was sacrificing,' to get favourable omens; without which no one would venture to begin a battle.

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τὴν δψιν: G. § 160, 1.

18. αὐλαρψεν—πῦρ, 'a great and brilliant flame shot up from the victim on the altar.' Sneezing (*κραυδής*) was considered a good omen even in Homer's time. Odyss. xvii 541. Cf. Theocr. vii 96 Σιμχίδα μὲν Ἐρωτες ἐπέπταρον, xviii 16, Catull. xlvi 18 *dextram sternuit approbationem.*

20. δεσμῆμης, 'gave an omen.' δεξιωσάμενος, 'seizing him by the right hand' to congratulate him.

21. τῶν νεανισκῶν κατάρρξοσθαι, 'to sacrifice the youths,' lit. to make a beginning of or consecrate for sacrifice by cutting off the hair of the forehead, Her. π 45, Hom. Il. iii 274 ἀρνῶν ἐκ κεφαλέων τάμνεν τρίχας.

22. ὄμηστρη, *qui crudis carnibus vescitur.* This or ὄμβδιος was the title given to Dionysus because of the wild orgies which formed a part of his worship, and because of the tearing in pieces of Pentheus by his mother Agave acting under the inspiration of the god. Also because he had human sacrifices at Chios and Tenedos, Orph. H. 29, 5, Porphy. de abst. 2, 55 ἔθουντο δὲ καὶ ἐν Κιρῷ τῷ ὡμαδίῳ Διονύσῳ ἀνθρώπων διασπάντες καὶ ἐν Τερέδῳ. On the rites of ὄμοφαγία connected with the cult of Dionysus, see also Sandys' note on Eur. Bacch. v 188. εὗτα γαρ λιθόθαι] infinitive in indirect discourse, G. § 246 n.

25. τὸ μάντευμα, object to ἐκτλαγέντος, 7, 8. μάγη καὶ βανδόν, 'monstrous, shocking.' οἷον εἰσθεν, 'as is usual,' referring to what follows.

26. μᾶλλον ἐκ τῶν παραλόγων κ.τ.λ., 'by strange and unreasonable rather than by reasonable and ordinary means.' Cf. Polyb. x 44, 6 τὰ μάλιστ' ἀν ἐκ τῶν εὐλόγων (*probabiliter ratione*) προνολας τυγχάνοντα, xii 16, 13 αὐτῷ δὲ τοῦ βίου τὸ πλεῖστον ἐκ τῶν εὐλόγων ἔτι μένειν.

28. μῆτρα, explained by κοιρῆ φωρῆ. κατεκαλεόντο, 'invoked,' 'called upon them to receive their offering.' Isocr. Helen. p. 218 c § 61 στίχεις δια αὐτοὺς εἴσεβοτε κάτιο κατε-

καλέσωνται, Plut. de EI Delph. § 9 p. 389 σ. τρεῖς μῆρας τοῦτον κατακαλοῦνται τὸν θεόν, Appian Pun. c. 81 (ed. Mendelsohn) uses the active: τοὺς θεούς ὡς ἡπαγμένους κατεκάλουν.

2. *Φανίας*] 1, 2; 7, 4; 27, 8; 29, 4. Cf. Aristeid. c. 19 9. λέγονται κατά τι λόγιον ὀμηστῇ Διονύσῳ καθιερευθῆναι, where these prisoners are said to have been brought from Psyttaleia, when Aristeides attacked it at the beginning of the action. Now Aristeides did not attack Psyttaleia until the naval combat was nearly over, so that no prisoners can have been brought thence at the commencement of the action; there could therefore have been no Persian prisoners to sacrifice, and the story may be dismissed as a fiction.

CHAPTER XIV

§ 1. 5. ὡς ἀν εἰδὼς: in full it would be λέγει ὡς ἀν λέγοι εἰδώσ.

6. Σιαβεβαιούμενος, 'being positive.'

Πέρσαις: v. 341—3, the words are those of a Persian who escaped from the battle addressed to Atossa, the mother of Xerxes. Cobet would omit τραγῳδίῃ.

9. ὡν τῆγ, sc. γέων, G. § 153. αἱ δὲ ὑπέρκοπτο τάχα, 'those of extraordinary speed,' i.e. exclusive of those thousand, there were 207 τρήπεις ταχεῖαι, or 'swift ships.' Herodotus' statement (vii 89, 184) agrees with this, Demosthenes de symm. § 29 p. 186, 7 speaks of 1000 in round numbers, and Diod. Sic. xi 8 of more than 1200.

10. ἡδὲ έχει λόγος, 'such is the tale,' i.e. the reckoning; not 'so the story goes' (Prickard).

11. ἐκατὸν δύοσήκοντα] 11, 3. τὸ πλῆθος] G. § 160, 1.

12. τοὺς διπὸ τοῦ καταστρέματος μαχομένους] predicative = τοὺς ἐπιβάτας. The number is remarkably small. Herodotus (vi 15) tells us that the Chians at the battle of Lade in B.C. 494 had forty.

Ἐγρωσαν τούς τε φυγόντας καταδέξασθαι καὶ τοὺς ἀτίμους ἐπιτίμους ποιῆσαι, as published at the time of the Persian war. Murderers and tyrants however were excluded from the amnesty (Andoc. § 78). Similarly Plut. limits the amnesty to those who were under temporary banishment, τοῖς ἐπὶ χρόνῳ μεθεστῶσιν, cf. 5, 4. For ἐπὶ χρόνῳ Cobet would read ἐπὶ χρονού.

5. κατελθοῦσι, 'on their return from exile': Herod. v 30 εἴ κως κατέλθοιεν εἰς ἁυτῶν, Thuc. i 113, 4 οἱ φυγάδες Βοιωτῶν κατελθόντες...αὐτόνομοι πάλιν ἔγενοντο, iv 66, 3 τοὺς ἐκπεσόντας ὑπὸ σφῶν κατελθεῖν. So κατάγειν means *reducere in patriam*, 'to recall from banishment,' in Herod., Thuc., Plato, Xen., Plutarch. πράττειν καὶ λέγειν] subject of ἔξειναι, G. § 259. The two verbs combined indicate full political privileges.

§ 2. 8. δέξιωμα, *dignitas*, 'rank,' 'consideration due to,' Thuc. i 18 οἱ Δακεδαιμόνιοι ξυπολεμησάντων Ἐλλήνων ἡγήσαντο δινάμει τροέχοντες. So when Alexander claimed to be leader of the army destined for the invasion of Persia, the rank was ceded to him by all but the Lacedaemonians, who replied μὴ εἴναι σφίσι πάτριον ἀκόλουθεῖν ἄλλοι, ἀλλ' αὐτοὺς ἄλλων ἔξηγεισθαι, Arrian Anabasis i, 1. μαλακοῦ] 6, 1. περὶ τὸν κίνδυνον] Cobet suggests παρὰ τὸν κίνδυνον, 8, 1, and ἀπάρειν for αἴρειν, without reason.

9. αἴρειν, 'to get under way,' 'to start,' intrans. as often used by Thucydides whether of a journey by land or a sea voyage, ii 25, 3 ἄραντες—παρέπλεον, 55, 6 ἄραντες ἀπ' αὐτῶν (τῶν ἐπιθαλασσίων τόπων) ἀφίκοντο ἐς Πρασιάς, 103 ἄραντες ἐκ τῆς Ἀκαρνανίας καὶ ἀφικόμενοι ἐς τὴν Ναύπακτον, iii 32 ἄρας ἐκ τοῦ Ἐμβάτου παρέπλει, 91, 3, iv 45 ἄραντες ἐπλευσαν, v 3, 3 ἄρας περιέπλει, vi 94, vii 26, 69, viii 28, 32 and with dative. i 29 ἄραντες ναῦσι καὶ ὀπλίταις ἐπλεον, iv 129, 3, ii 23, 2 ἄραντες τῇ παρασκευῇ ταύτῃ ἐπλεον, iii 95 ἄρας τῷ στρατεύματι, iv 11, 2 ἄραντες τῷ στρατῷ, vi 43, 51, viii 60, 2, Plutarch Camill. c. 40 Κέλτους, αὐθις ἀπὸ τῆς Ἀδριατικῆς ἄραντας θαλάσσης μυριάσι πολλαῖς ἐπὶ τὴν Πώμην ἀλαύνειν, Poplic. c. 22 ἄραντες στρατῷ μεγαλω.

In Thuc. viii 39, 1 we have the word applied to

the ships themselves ἔπειτα καὶ εἰκοσι γῆς δρασαί ἔτλεον, which seems to show that τὸς ἀγύρας is not, as is commonly supposed, to be understood, but cf. Pomp. c. 80 Εὐφυγος ἀράμενος τὸς ἀγύρας. The δέ is used after αἱρεῖν instead of τε because of the negative notion implied in μαλακοῦ = 'wanting in spirit,' see n. to 27, 2.

11. ὅτε καὶ, 'at which time among other things, they say, the following well-known characteristic sayings (Fr. 'ana') or apophthegms were uttered.' Cf. Plut. praeo. ger. reip. c. xv p. 811 ν τὸ τοῦ Ἀγτισθένους μημονευόμενον, Fab. Max. c. 26 p. 189 σ εἰπών τὸ μημονευόμενον, Marc. c. 21 p. 310 c, Cat. c. 15 p. 344 π . This meaning is omitted in L.-S. Cf. below c. 18 § 1.

12. γαρ, 'namely,' introduces the promised narrative. The first anecdote is told also by Herodotus VIII 59, but he makes Adeimantus the Corinthian the interlocutor: ὡς δὲ δρα συνελέχθησαν (οἱ ἡγεμόνες), πρίν η̄ τὸν Εὔρυβιάδην προθένται τὸν λόγον τῶν εἰνεκα συνήγαγε τοὺς στρατηγούς, πολὺς η̄ν ὁ Θεμιστοκλέης ἐν τοῖς λόγοισι, οἴα κάρτα δέσμενος λέγετος δὲ αὐτῷ, ὁ Κορίνθιος στρατηγὸς Ἀδειμαντος ὁ Ὀκτώντου εἶπε· 'Ο Θεμιστοκλεες, ἐν τοῖς ἀγώσι οἱ προεξαντλάμενοι φατίζονται.' ὁ δὲ ἀπολούμενος ἔφη 'Οι δέ γε ἐγκαταλειπόμενοι οὐ στεφανεῦνται.'

14. τοὺς προεξαντλάμένους, 'those who start before the signal is given,' or 'before their turn.' They were kept in order by the rods of the beadleς (ῥαβδοδόχοι or 'Ελλανοδόκεις Paus. vi 2, 1) in the employ of the stewards of the games (ἀθλοθέται). So we read in Thuc. v 50 that one Lichas ἤτε τῶν ραβδούχων πληγὴς ξλαβεῖ for a breach of the rules of the course: cf. Xen. Hell. iii 2, 21.

16. τοὺς ἀπολειφθέντας, 'those who are left, lag behind.' Xen. Cyr. i 4, 20 πρῶτος ἦγέτο ταχέως καὶ ὁ Κναέρης μέντοι ἐφείπετο καὶ οἱ ἄλλοι δὲ οὐκ ἀπελείποντο, Plato Sophist. p. 243 a εἰτ' ἐπακολουθοῖμεν...εἰτ' ἀπολειπόμενα, Crat. 412 A, Isocr. Evas. § 79 p. 29, 7 παρακελεύονται τῶν δρομέων οὐ τοῦς ἀπολειπομένοις, ἀλλὰ τοῖς περὶ τῆς πίκης ἀμιλλωμένοις, Nicocles § 19 οὐκ ἀπολείπονται τῶν καιρῶν, Plut. de adul. § 16 p. 58 π

ἀπολιμπανόμενος θεύτων ὡσπερ δὲ Ἰμεραῖος ἀπελείφθη δια-
θέων πρὸς Ἀλέξανδρον.

§ 3. ἐπαραμένου τὴν βακτηρίαν, 'raising his staff, as though he would strike him.' G. § 199, 3, 'If he had done so, it would have been in keeping with the Spartan character: Thuc. viii 84 τῷ Δωρεὶ ξυναγορεύοντι τοῖς ἑαυτοῦ ναύταις ἐπα-
νήρατο τὴν βακτηρίαν (i.e. ὡς τοῖς Schol.), Xen. Hell. vi 2, 19 ἐποκριναμένων δὲ τῷ λοχαγῷ...τὸν μέν τινα βακτη-
ρίᾳ, τὸν δὲ τῷ στόρακι ἐπάταξεν.

19. πραότητα, 'composure,' 'repression of feeling,'
(δργλότητα, 'excitability.'

20. ἀνῆγεν αὐτὸν ἐπὶ τὸν λόγον, 'was bringing him back
to his former proposal, when some one exclaimed'; according
to Her. viii 61 this was Adeimantus.

22. ἀπόλις] because Athens was in the enemy's hands.
οὐκ ὄρθις διδάσκοι, 'had no right to admonish.' G. § 243.
τοὺς ἔχοντας, sc. πόλιν, to be understood from ἀπόλις, 'those who
possessed one.' τοὺς ἔχ. might also mean 'men of substance'
as in Arist. Eq. 1295, Pl. 596. ἔγκαταλιπεν, *derelin-
quere*, 'to forsake,' since the Peloponnesian states were
threatened by the enemy's land forces.

24. ἐπιστρέψας τὸν λόγον, 'turning his conversation to'
the man who had interrupted him. τοι, 'yes,' 'assured-
ly.' ἀ μοχθῷ, 'you wretch!'

26. οὐκ ἀξιούντες, 'disdaining,' 7, 2.

27. πόλις δέ τιμέν] Cf. Thuc. vii 77 ἀδρες γὰρ πόλις καὶ
οὐ τεῖχη οὐδὲ ρήγες ἀνδρῶν κενα. The remark is not so pointed
in Herodotus ὡς εἴη ἑαυτοῖσι καὶ πόλις καὶ γῆ...ἴστ' ἀν διηκόσιαι
νέες σφι ἔωσι πεπληρωμέναι. Cf. Sir W. Jones' Ode:

'What constitutes a state?

Not high-raised battlement or laboured mound;

* * * * *

No: men; high-minded men,' &c.

which is borrowed from the fragment of Alcaeus:

οὐ λίθοι

τείχεων εὐ δεδομαμένοι,
δλλ' ἀδρες τύλεος πύργος ἀρήσαι.

Justin Hist. ii 12, 15 makes Themistokles say *patriam municipes esse, non moenia, civitatemque non in aedificiis, sed in civibus positam.*

28. θιάκοισι] 180 Athenian; 20 Chalkidian.

29. βουλομένοις, 'if you choose,' G. 277, 4.

§ 4. 20. θεότερον] 9, 2. πεντεταῖ τις Ἑλλήνων]
'many a one of the Hellenes (a litotes for πάντες Ἑλλῆνες) will
hear of the Athenians being in possession both of a free
city,' a severer form of threat than if they had said directly
πείσεσθε ἡμᾶς κεκτημένους. Herodotus viii 62 makes them
speak more definitely of his plan: *εἰ δὲ ταῦτα μὴ ποιήσεις,*
ἡμεῖς μὲν ὡς ἔχομεν ἀναλαβόντες τοὺς οἰκέτας κομιεύμεθα ἐς Σέριν
τὴν ἐν Ἱταλίᾳ, ἥτερ ἴμετρό τέ ἐστι ἐκ παλαιοῦ ἔτι, καὶ τὰ λόγια
λέγει ὑπὸ ἡμέων αὐτῆν δέους κτισθῆναι· ὑμεῖς δὲ συμμάχων ποιήσεις
μουνωθέντες μεμήσεσθε τῷν ἐμῶν λόγων.

2. τῆς ἀπέβαλον] G. § 153 n. 1.

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4. Ισχε] 9, 2. θέος τῶν Ἀθηναίων μή] (G. 167, 3), for
δέος μή οἱ Ἀθ. (anticipation of the subject). σφᾶς] G. § 144,
2 (a).

5. τοῦ Ἐρετρίων, 'the Eretrian commander' (Blass), not
'the Eretrian' with whose name the anecdote is associated
(Sintenis). The anecdote is not recorded by Herodotus. Eretria was a town on the western coast of Euboea, just south of
Chalkis, next to which it was the most important place in the
island. It is mentioned by Homer Iliad ii 537. The original
town was destroyed by the Persians in B.C. 490, but afterwards
rebuilt.

6. τι λέγειν, 'to say something.' Its usual meaning is 'to
say something to the point,' (οὐδὲν λέγειν 'to talk nonsense,'

7. *αἱ τευθῖδες*, 'a kind of cuttle-fish' or 'squid.' Koräes has the following note on this passage: *τευτθίδεις*—τὰ ἐν τῷ συργηθεὶᾳ καλούμενα καλαμάρια, μετενεχθέντος ἑως τοῦ δεύματος ἀπὸ τοῦ ἐν τῇ αὐτῇ συργηθεὶᾳ Καλαμαρίου τοῦ σημαίνοντος τὴν τῶν γραφικῶν καλάμων θήκην ἀμα τε καὶ τοῦ γραφικοῦ μέλανος δοχεῖον. διὰ τὸν ἐν ταῖς τευθίδαις δολάν, διὸ γε μῆτρα κατακόρων μελάντερον ἔχει ἡ σηπία καὶ αὕτη τοῦ γένους οὗσα τῶν μαλακίων, ὥσπερ καὶ ἡ τευθίδης. "Ο δὲ λέγει περὶ τε τῆς μαχαρίας καὶ τῆς καρδίας τοιοῦτον ἔστιν. 'Οιδέν' ὡς φησιν Ἀριστοτέλης (hist. anim. iv 1) τῶν μαλακίων (molluscs) ἔχει σπλάχνον, τῶν δὲ ἑταῖς τῆς τε σηπίας καὶ τῆς τευθίδος δύο στερεῶν τὸ μὲν καλεῖται σήπιαν τὸ δὲ ξίφος (=μάχαιρα)."

CHAPTER XII

§ 1. 10. *τινῶν*] not by Herodotus. τὸν μὲν—γλαῦκα § 2] the simultaneous concurrence of two events is more often marked by *τε*—*καὶ*.

12. *ἄνεῳδεν*] to be taken with *ἀπὸ τοῦ καταστρώματος*, of which it forms a closer definition, unless with Cobet we are to consider the word as a gloss. γλαῦκα] the bird of the goddess of war: a similar omen at the battle of Marathon is recorded by the chorus in the Parabasis of the *Vespae* of Aristophanes v 1086 ἐνσάμεσθαι (τὸν βαρβαρὸν) ξὺν θεοῖς πρὸς ἄστερας, γλαῦξ γὰρ ἡμῶν τὸν μάχεσθαι τὸν στρατὸν δέπτετο.

13. *ἀπὸ δεξιᾶς*] The Greek augurs always faced the north in their observation of omens, and since those that were lucky came from the east, they were on their right: while the unlucky, coming from the west, were on their left. The Romans, on the contrary, turned their faces towards the south, and therefore had the eastern or fortunate signs on the left, hence *laevus* and *sinister* in augural language meant 'fortunate,' and when 'dexter' has the same meaning, it is from a Greek point of view. τῶν νεῶν goes with διατετομένην. Cf. Pyrrh. a. 18 θροῦ διέδραμε τῆς ἐκκλησίας.

14. *τοῖς καρχηστοῖς*, 'the mast-head.' Cf. Eur. Hec. 1261 πεσούντας ἐκ καρχηστῶν.

15. προσέθεντο τῇ γνώμῃ, 'agreed with his (Themistokles') opinion.' Herod. i 109 οὐ οἱ Ἔγαροι προσθήσομαι τῇ γνώμῃ, π. 120 τῷ λόγῳ τῷ λεχθέντι προστίθεμαι, Thuc. i 20, 4, v 62, 1, vi 50 προσέθετο τῇ Ἀλκιβιάδου γνώμῃ, Xen. Anab. i 6, 10 ταῦτη τῇ γνώμῃ ἔφη καὶ τὸν ὄλλον προσθέσθαι.

16. παρεσκευάζοντο ναυμαχῆσσοντες] Cobet would read ὡς ναυμαχῆσσοτες. *αλλ' ἐτελ]* the conclusion is l. 26 ἐνθα δῆ. See Herod. viii 67.

17. στόλος προσφέρομενος, *classis admota.* κατὰ τὸ Φαληρικόν, 'at the shore of the Phaleric gulf.' Phalerum or Phalerus, a demus belonging to the tribe Acaentia, was at the south-eastern corner of the gulf, which is named after it (*μετὰ τὸν Πειραιῶν Φαληρεῖς δῆμος ἐν τῇ ἑρεξῆ παραλίᾳ* Strabo ix p. 398), now called Treis Pýrgos.

18. ἀπέκρυψεν, *obtexit,* 'covered,' so as to hide from view.

20. δέδρον, *omnibus copiis, universo exercitu,* 'with all his force assembled.' Cf. Sull. c. 12 p. 458 γ ταῦς Ἀθήνας ἀθροεις ἐπέστη, Eum. c. 5 p. 585 δ τῇ φλαγγῃ αὐτοῦ διεσταρμένῃ δθροεις ἐπελάσσει, Pomp. c. 20 p. 629 Λ τραγομένου πρὸς ταύτας ἐκείνους δθροεις ἐπιφανεῖς καὶ συνάψας μάχην, Luc. c. 27 p. 509 δ ὑπερβαλὼν τὸν Ταῦρον δθροεις κατεφάνη. In classical Greek it is only used with plural or collective nouns.

21. τῶν δὲ δυνάμεων δμοῦ γενομένων, 'when, I say, the two forces, land and naval, were combined.' A summary of the previous statement. *ἔσπερόσταν τῶν Ἑλλήνων, effuserunt, exciderunt,* 'slipped from their memory.'

23. ἐνδιάτανον πρὸς, 'looked wistfully to.'

24. ἀδόκα δὲ, 'but they resolved.' The δὲ is adversative to the negation implied in χαλεπαίσσοντες ἥκουος; cf. 11, 2. τῆς νυκτός, 'the next night.' Cf. 7, 4.

25. παρηγόμενοι τλεῖς τοῖς κυβερνήταις, 'the steersmen had orders given them to prepare for sailing.' This is the picture drawn by Plutarch: according to Herodotus matters did not go so far.

26. ένθα δή, *tum demum*, ‘then and not until then,’ ‘just then.’ βαρέως φέρων εἰ, ‘ vexed at the idea of.’ Some verbs expressing wonder, indignation or disapprobation, joy or surprise, take a protasis with *εἰ*, where a causal sentence would seem more natural. Madv. Gr. Synt. § 194 c, Clyde § 48 *obs.* 2, G. § 228.

27. εἰ τὴν κ.τ.λ.] the advantage of a battle at Salamis, and the disadvantage of returning, Herod. viii 57 and 60, 2; in the latter case κατὰ πόλις (distributive) ἐκαστοι τρέψουται. τῶν στενῶν] 8, 1; 14, 2.

28. τὴν περὶ τὸν Σίκιννον πραγματείαν, ‘the well-known affair with Sikinnus.’

§ 2. Herod. c. 75, who however does not speak of Sikinnus as a Persian or as a prisoner of war. It is surmised that Plutarch read Herodotus' words πέμπει ἐς τὸ στρατόπεδον τὸ Μῆδων δυδρα πλοιῷ carelessly, as if he had written τῶν Μῆδων δύδρα.

17. 1. εὔνοι] Nep. Them. c. 4 *noctu de servis quem habuit fidelissimum ad regem misit.*

2. παιδαγωγός, ‘tutor,’ the slave who had charge of the boys of the more respectable families out of school.

3. τὸ βασιλεῖον, ‘the king's side.’ πρᾶτος] the greater therefore the service.

4. διωδιθράσκοντας, ‘are trying to make their escape by stealth.’ For the distinction between this and διποθεύοντας, see Xen. Anab. i 4, 8. Cf. Herod. viii 75 δι τοι "Ελληνες αὐτοῖς δρῆσ μὲν βουλεύονται καταρρωδήκτες.

7. μή παρένται, ‘not to allow them,’ from παρίημι. ἐν φ. ‘whilst they are in a state of confusion,’ before the complete junction of the land and naval forces.

8. τῶν πεζῶν χωρίς, G. § 182, 2. ἐπιθέσθαι, ‘to attack.’

10. δεξάμενοι, ‘hailing it as a proposal emanating from goodwill to himself.’ τέλος ἤξεφερε, ‘issued orders,’ a very unusual phrase: the words ἥσθη καὶ τέλος are omitted in

F^a, see cr. app. Cf. Coriol. c. 6 p. 216 A: ὅπιούσης περὶ τούτων
βουλῆς καὶ μηδὲν τέλος ἐκφερούσης.

12. καθ' ἡσυχίαν, 'at their leisure,')(ἥδη, 'at once.' Plutarch's account differs from that of Herodotus, who does not notice the personal interference of Xerxes in any way, but treats the communication of Sikinnus as having been made to the Persian generals, and the night-movement as having been undertaken by them. It agrees with the narrative in Aeschylus Pers. 355 ff.

13. διαχθέντας, *ejectos*, 'putting to sea.' τὸν πόρον, 'the strait' between Salamis and the coast of Attica, which was only a quarter of a mile in breadth at the narrowest part.

14. διαζώσαι τὰς νήσους, 'to form a girdle (as it were) between the islands,' 'to throw a boom across so as to close up the passages between them,' viz. the small islands of Psyttalea (Aristeid. c. 9), Malante and Sileniae. Cf. Peripl. c. 19, 1: τὸν αὐχένα (Chersonesoi) διαζώσας ἔρύμασι καὶ προβλήμασι ἐκ θαλάττης εἰς θάλατταν. [ὅπως ἐκφύγει] G. § 216, 1.

§ 3. 15. Cf. Arist. c. 8. According to Herodotus VIII 79 Aristeides summoned Themistokles out of the assembled synod of chiefs (στὰς ἐπὶ τὸ συνέδριον ἐξεκαλέστη Θεμιστοκλέα... θέλων αὐτῷ συμψίξαι).

16. εἱρηται: 5, 4, 28; 11, 1, 2.

20. τὴν κύκλωσιν, 'of their being surrounded by the Persians.' Arist. 8, 2 οὐδενὸς προειδότος τὴν κύκλωσιν.

τὴν δλλην καλοκάγαθαν τοῦ ἀνδρὸς, 'the general nobleness of the man's character,' which commanded his confidence and respect. τοῦ ἀνδρὸς, 'the man,' used as 'homo,' especially in familiar language, instead of the demonstrative pronoun. Cf. 16, 2, 1. 22 n.

22. τῆς τότε παρουσίας ἀγόμανος, sc. αὐτὸν. G. § 173, 1.

24. συνεπιλαμβάνεσθαι, *simul retinere*, 'to aid him in keeping back,' not 'to take the part of,' as L.-S. translate.

Cf. Agis 7, 5 τὸν Δεωνίδαν παρεκάλουν διτα πρεσβύτερον ἐπιλαμβάνεσθαι (veluti manu iniecta reprehendere) τοῦ Ἀγόδος καὶ τὰ πραττόμενα διακωλύειν. πίστιν ἔχοντα μᾶλλον, 'because he had more credit,' 'commanded more confidence.' Πίστις is here passive = fides apud alios. Cf. 10, 5 l. 17 n.

Cf. Arist. 8, 5 εἰχε γέρε αὐτοῦ μᾶλλον πίστιν, Pyrrh. c. 26 p. 400 F δοκῶν βίαιον εἶναι οὐτ' εἴναι οὐτε πίστιν εἰχε, C. Caes. c. 62 p. 737 Απίστιν εἰχε μερύλη παρ' αὐτῷ, Dem. c. 10 p. 880 δὲ ρῆμα καὶ νέμα πίστιν ἔχοντος ἀνθράκων κυριώτερον ἡγούμενος, Polyb. Hist. XI 10, 2 ἀναγκῇ λαμβάνειν τὴν πράτην πίστιν τὴν παραίνεσσι, ib. VII 13. 2.

25. δηνεται ναυμαχήσωσιν, G. § 216, 2. In classical Greek the ind. future would be used with δηνεται after verbs of striving &c. G. § 217.

26. οὖν, continuative, 'so.'

27. ἤπειρα, obidat, 'visited,' 'went round to,' Plut. Pomp. c. 68 p. 665 δὲ ἐπιών τὰς φυλακάς, Thuc. v 110 τῶν ξυμάχων δύοντος μὴ Βρασίδας ἐπῆλθε, VIII 54, 3 τὰς ξυνωμοσίας ('clubs') ἀπόδους ἐπῆλθε.

28. ὅμως] in spite of his assurances.

29. Τενία τριήρης] from the island Tenos, one of the Cyclades, Herod. VIII 82. αὐτόμολος, a deserter, predicate adj.

30. ἐναυδρχαὶ] for ἡρχε, 4, 2.

18 1. καὶ θυμῷ, 'even with exasperation,' 'in a spirit of anger.' μερὶς τῆς ἀνάγκης] making a merit of their necessity, they were eager for the struggle. Aristid. c. 8 φυγῆς δόου οὐ λιτεμμένης.

CHAPTER XIII

§ 1. 2. Εὔρεται μὲν] correlative to Θεμιστοκλεῖ δὲ § 2.

4. τὴν παράταξιν] nearer definition of τὸν στόλον.

5. Φανόθημος: Phanodemus was the author of one of those works on the legends and antiquities of Attica, which are known under the name of 'Ατθίδες. His age and birth-place alike are uncertain: it is conjectured that he was a native of Icus, one of the Cyklades, because he wrote a special work on that island ('Ikiaká').

ὑπέρ τὸ

'Ηράκλεον, 'above the temple of Heracles,' upon one of the projecting declivities of mount Aegaleos, the mountain-range by which the Eleusinian and Athenian plains are separated. Cf. Diod. Sic. xi 18, Ktesias Exe. pers. § 26 ἐπὶ στενώπατον τῆς Ἀττικῆς, δὲ Ήράκλεον καλεῖται. The exact position of Xerxes' seat was satisfactorily ascertained by Admiral Sir S. Stirling and Sir J. G. Wilkinson in 1843, as the latter tells us in Rawlinson's *Herod.* viii 90.

6. τῆς Ἀττικῆς: G. § 174.

7. μέθορός (μετὰ, δρός), 'the frontier' of (Attica and) the Megarid.'

8. Κεράτων: Strabo ix 604 ἐπὶ τῷ Παραλίᾳ τῷ κατὰ Σαλαμῖνα κεῖσθαι συμβαίνει τὰ δρια τῆς Μεγαρικῆς καὶ τῆς Ἀτθίδος δρη δύο, δὲ καλοῦσι Κέρατα. This would be much farther to the north-west, eight or nine miles from the scene of action. Grote observes that 'if this writer was acquainted with the topography of Attica, we must suppose him to have ascribed an astonishingly long sight to Xerxes: but we may probably take the assertion as a sample of that carelessness in geography, which marks so many ancient writers.'

9. χρωτεῦν δίφρον θέμανος, 'having a golden throne set for him.' G. § 199 note 2. The throne with silver feet (*ἀργυρόποδες*), upon which he had sat, was long preserved in the Akropolis of Athens, having been left behind on his retreat. Grote v p. 176, Dem. c. Timocr. p. 741, 5. Rawlinson gives a representation of the throne of a Persian king in his translation of Herodotus vii c. 16.

10. παραστησάμενος, 'setting by his side,' 'causing to sit near him.' G. § 199 note 2. θρόνος, 'duty,' 'business.' διωγμάσθαι, 'to note down,' 'register,' the events of the battle.

§ 2. From Phanias.

12. σφαγαζομένῳ, 'while he was sacrificing,' to get favourable omens, without which no one would venture to begin a battle.

14. καλλιστοτοι ιδεσθαι: an Homeric expression, which will account for the use of the middle, unknown in prose.
την δψιν: G. § 160, 1.

18. ανθεμψεν—πῦρ, 'a great and brilliant flame shot up from the victim on the altar.' Sneezing (*πταρμὸς*) was considered a good omen even in Homer's time. Odyss. xvii 541. Cf. Theocr. vii 96 Σιμχίδα μὲν Ἐρωτες ἐπέπταρον, xviii 16, Catull. xlvi 18 *dextram sternuit approbationem*.

20. ἐστήμηε, 'gave an omen.' δεξιωσάμενος, 'seizing him by the right hand' to congratulate him.

21. τῶν νεανίσκων κατάρχεσθαι, 'to sacrifice the youths,' lit. to make a beginning of or consecrate for sacrifice by cutting off the hair of the forehead, Her. π 45, Hom. Il. iii 274 ἀρνῶν ἐκ κεφαλέων τάμνεν τρίχας.

22. ὡμηστῆ, *qui crudis carnibus vescitur*. This or ὡμαδίος was the title given to Dionysus because of the wild orgies which formed a part of his worship, and because of the tearing in pieces of Pentheus by his mother Agave acting under the inspiration of the god. Also because he had human sacrifices at Chios and Tenedos, Orph. H. 29, 5, Porphyr. de abst. 2, 55 ἔθνοντο δὲ καὶ ἐν Χίῳ τῷ ὡμαδίῳ Διονύσῳ ἀνθρώποις διασπῶντες καὶ ἐν Τερέδῳ. On the rites of ὡμοφαγία connected with the cult of Dionysus, see also Sandys' note on Eur. Bacch. v 188. οὗτοι γάρ ιστεσθαι] infinitive in indirect discourse, G. § 246 n.

25. τὸ μάντευμα, object to ἐκπλαγέντος, 7, 3. μάγια καὶ δευτὸν, 'monstrous, shocking.' οἷον εἰωθεν, 'as is usual,' referring to what follows.

26. μᾶλλον ἐκ τῶν παραλόγων κ.τ.λ., 'by strange and unreasonable rather than by reasonable and ordinary means.' Cf. Polyb. i 44, 6 τὰ μάλιστ' ἀν ἐκ τῶν εὐλόγων (*probabiliter ratione*) προνοίας τυγχάνοντα, xii 16, 13 αὐτῷ δὲ τοῦ βίου τὸ πλεῖστον ἐκ τῶν εὐλόγων ἦτι μένει.

28. δῆμα, explained by κοινὴ φωνὴ. κατεκαλοῦντο, 'invoked,' 'called upon them to receive their offering.' Isokr. Helen. p. 218 σ § 61 οἵτινες ἀν αὐτοὺς εὑσεβῶς κάτω κατα-

καλέσωνται, Plut. de EI Delph. § 9 p. 389 σ. τρεῖς μῆνας τοῦτον κατακαλοῦνται τὸν θεόν, Appian Pun. c. 81 (ed. Mendelssohn) uses the active: τοὺς θεοὺς ὡς ἡπαγμένους κατεκάλουν.

2. *Φανίας*] 1, 2; 7, 4; 27, 8; 29, 4. Cf. Aristeid. c. 19 9 λέγονται κατά τι λόγιον ὀμηστῇ Διονύσῳ καθιερευθῆναι, where these prisoners are said to have been brought from Psyttaleia, when Aristeides attacked it at the beginning of the action. Now Aristeides did not attack Psyttaleia until the naval combat was nearly over, so that no prisoners can have been brought thence at the commencement of the action; there could therefore have been no Persian prisoners to sacrifice, and the story may be dismissed as a fiction.

CHAPTER XIV

§ 1. 5. ὡς ἀν εἰδὼς: in full it would be λέγει ὡς ἀν λέγοι εἰδώς.

6. *διαβεβαιούμενος*, 'being positive.'

Πέρσας: v. 341—3, the words are those of a Persian who escaped from the battle addressed to Atossa, the mother of Xerxes. Cobet would omit *τραγῳδίᾳ*.

9. ὡν τὴν, sc. νέων, G. § 153. αἱ 5' ἵπερκοντα τάχα, 'those of extraordinary speed,' i.e. exclusive of those thousand, there were 207 *τριήρεις ταχεῖαι*, or 'swift ships.' Herodotus' statement (vii 89, 184) agrees with this, Demosthenes de symm. § 29 p. 186, 7 speaks of 1000 in round numbers, and Diod. Sic. xi 8 of more than 1200.

10. ἐστὶ οὐκα λόγος, 'such is the tale,' i.e. the reckoning; not 'so the story goes' (Prickard).

11. ἐκατὸν δύοσικοντα] 11, 3. τὸ πλῆθος] G. § 160, 1.

12. τοὺς διπλοὺς καταστρέματος μαχομένους] predicative = τοὺς ἐπιβάτας. The number is remarkably small. Herodotus (vi 15) tells us that the Chians at the battle of Lade in B.C. 494 had forty.

§ 2. 15. συνδὼν] 7, 2; 8, 2.

16. φυλάξας, 'watching for.'

18. ὥραν, 'time of day.' λαμπρὸν] 'fresh' predicate adjective, G. § 138. Cf. Herod. II 96 ταῦτα τὰ πλοῖα αὐτὰ τὸν ποταμὸν οὐ δύναται πλεῖν, ἢ μὴ λαμπρὸς ἄνεμος ἐπέχῃ, Alexis ap. Athen. VIII 838 D el πνεύσεις βορρᾶς ἡ νότος ἐν τῷ θαλάττῳ λαμπρός, Arist. Eq. 430 ἔξειμι σοι λαμπρὸς καὶ μέγας καθεῖται, ib. 760, Verg. Georg. I 460 *claro silvas cernes Aquilone moveri.*

19. δαλ] to be taken with κατάγουσαν. κῦμα, 'a heavy swell.' Leake (demi of Attica, p. 203 n.) rejects this account, because in the latter part of the year when the battle took place, the sea-breeze seldom sets in until late in the forenoon, and according to Herodotus and Aeschylus the battle began at day-break.

20. οὐκ ἴβλαπτε, 'did not impede or disable them, because they were flat (ἀλιτερῆς) and low.'

21. ταῖς πρύμναις δυστόστασας, 'high-sterned,' lit. 'standing up with their sterns.'

22. βαρεῖας, 'over-weighted,' refers to τοῖς καταστρώμασιν.

ἴστητε, 'as it caught them, drove them out of their course and presented their broadsides to the Greeks, so that they were exposed to and defenceless against the attacks of the enemy's triremes.' Why the imperfect?

23. δέξιας προσφερομένοις, 'eagerly attacking,' 15, 2; 30, 2. προστέχουσιν] 2, 4; 7, 1; 31, 1.

24. ὡς δρῶντι] because they thought he saw, subjective reason; a further reason (objective) is introduced by διτ. G. § 277, 6 note 2.

25. κατ' ἑκαῖνον, 'opposite to him.' Αριαμένης] according to Herod. not Ariamenes but Ariabignes, the son of Darius by the daughter of Gobryas.

26. ἕχει] G. § 377, 6.

27. δικαιότατος] because, when Darius' sons disputed the succession to his throne, and Xerxes, a son of the second

family, was appointed, Ariamenes, the eldest of the first family, at once renounced his claims. Plutarch de frat. am. c. 18, p. 488 ε. quotes his conduct herein as ἀρχέτυτον καθαρὸν καὶ ἀμώμητον εὐμενελας καὶ μεγαλοφροσύνης. In Herodotus vii 2 this son is named Artobazanes.

§ 3. 1. οὗν] continuative. Ἀμεινίας δὲ Δεκελεῖνος] of 20 the deme Decelea, which was in the φυλὴ Ἰπποθοωντίς. According to Herodotus (viii 84) Ameinias belonged not to Decelea but to Pallene, which was one of the most famous of the Athenian provincial towns. He was, if we are to believe Diodorus, a brother of the poet Aeschylus, whose other brother, Cynaegirus, had distinguished himself at Marathon, Her. vi 114. Rawlinson well remarks that, if this is true, it lends a peculiar interest to the beautiful simplicity of the words in which the poet notices his brother's action (Pera. 415—7) ηρξε δέ ἐμβολῆς Ἑλληνικῇ | ναῦς κάποθρανε πάντα Φοινίσσης νέως κόρυμβα, i.e. 'the attack was commenced by a Greek ship, which breaks off all the prow ornaments of a Phoenician vessel.'

2. Πασανιεὺς, 'of the deme Pasania,' the birthplace of Demosthenes the orator, in the tribe Pandionis. The reading Πεδιεὺς, retained by Sintenis, is probably, as he says, corrupt, there being no demos of that name. δμοῦ, 'together,' i.e. in the same vessel. αἱ νῆες, 'their ships,' i.e. those of Ariamenes and Ameinias.

3. συνερέσασαι, intrans. *in se mutuo impactae* 'crashing together,' 'grappling with each other.' Cf. Plut. Arat. c. 22 p. 1037 οἱ τέλοι συνερέσαντες ἔξωθεν τοὺς πολεμούς, Polyb. 12, 21, 8 συνήσπισαν οὕτως ὡστε συνερεῖσαι πρὸς ἀλλήλους; 5, 84, 2 δῆλα των (τῶν θηρῶν) συνήρεισε τοὺς ἐναντίους, Diod. Sic. xiii c. 46 p. 172 ὅπότε συνερεῖσειαν αἱ νῆες. τοῖς χαλκόμασιν ἴνεσχέθησαν, 'were held fast, became entangled by their brazen beaks' (ἐμβολοῖς). Diodor. Sic. xx c. 9 p. 752 ἐλαφον τὰ χαλκώματα Ἀγαποκλέους νεῶν εἰς τὰς ἴδιας τρύπεις, Plut. Ant. c. 16 p. 943 δ τῶν Καλεσπόρων (νεῶν) ἀντιπρέπων συμφέρεσθαι πρὸς χαλκώματα στερεὰ καὶ τραχέα φυλασσο-

μένων, c. 67 p. 947 B τὴν ἐτέραν τῶν ναυαρχίδων τῷ χαλκώ-
ματι πατάξας.

4. ἐπιβαίνοντα, 'in the attempt to board,' 'in the act of boarding.'

5. ὑποστάντες, 'making a stand against him.' Eur. Cyclo. 200 δχλον Φρυγῶν ὑπέστην, Thuc. I 144, 4 ὑποστάντες Μήδους, IV 127, 1 ἐπικειμένους ὑφίστατο. τοῖς δόρσι
τύπτοντες, 'striking him with their spears.'

Cobet shows (Var. Lect. p. 330 ff.) that *τύπτειν* has two meanings: *ferire, vulnus infligere* 'to inflict a wound with some weapon,' and *caedere, verberare* 'to beat,' 'smite.' In the second sense its future is *τύπτειν*, aor. I *πληγάς ἔνθελον* or *ἐπέταινα*, very seldom *ἴπταξα* and sometimes *ἴπασα*. In the former sense the future in use is *πατάξω*, the aor. I is *ἴπταξα*, *πληγὴν ἔνθελον*, sometimes in poetry *ἴπασα*. The perfect is in both senses *πέπληγα*, but *πληγὰς δέδωκα* is more common, for *cecidi, verberibus contudi*, though the former is found in Arist. Av. 1350 and Xen. Anab. VI. 1, 5 *ἔδει πεπληγέναι τὸν ἄνδρα*, and in the passive the forms in use are *τύπτομαι, παίσομαι, πληγὰς λαμβάνω* (*caedor*), *τύπτομαι, πληγὰς λήψομαι, πληγὰς ἔλαβον, πληγὰς εἰληφα,* and *τύπτομαι, πληγὴν λαμβάνω* (*vulnemor*), *πέπληγμαι, πεπλήξομαι, ἐπλήγηρ,* *πληγγόμομαι*.

7. Διαφερόμενον, 'tossed about,' 'floating amongst the other wreckage.' Cf. Strabo III c. 5 εἰς Ἰταλίαν κατάραι μόλις παραδιενεχθεὶς περὶ τὰς Γυμνησίας νήσους, Act. Apost. xxvii. 27 διαφερομέτρων ἡμῶν ἐν τῷ Ἀδρία, Plut. de exilio c. 16 p. 606 D ὡς ἐπὶ σχεδίας διαφέρονται τῆς ἀλπίδος. [Ἀργειοσία] queen of Halikarnassus in Karia, Herodotus' own city; she distinguished herself greatly in the battle by her skill and gallantry, Herod. VIII 87, 93, who records also the death of the admiral.

CHAPTER XV

§ 1. 9. ἐν τούτῳ ὅντος, 'at this period of the battle,' lit. 'when the battle was at this point.' φῶς] not in Herod.

10. 'Ελευσινόθεν, 'from Eleusis,' G. § 61. The circumstance is mentioned by Herod. XIII 65, as having happened ~~not~~ during the battle.

11. τὸ Θριάσιον κατέχειν πεδίον, 'filled the Thriasian plain.' This plain, so named from the town of Thria near Eleusis (Strabo ix c. 6, c. 13), extends along shore seven or eight miles from Mt Poecilum to Mt Kerata (Kandili) (13, 1), and reaches inland about five miles. Herod. VIII 65, IX 7, Apollodorus. III 14, 11.

12. τὸν μυστικὸν ἔμαγόντων Ἰακχον, 'escorting the mystic Iacchus.' The great festival of the Eleusinia was celebrated annually from the 15th to the 23rd of the month Boedromion (Sept.—Octr.). The sixth (called Ἰακχος) was the great day of the festival. The statue of the god, son of Demeter, was carried along the sacred road (Plut. Alc. c. 34) amid joyous shouts from the Kerameikos to Eleusis (Arist. Ran. 315, Plut. Phoc. c. 28). The procession was accompanied by a great number of followers and spectators, usually as many as 30,000. Dict. Antiqq. s.v.

14. πλήθους, 'dense crowd.' κατὰ μικρόν, 'paulatim,' 'little by little,' above 4, 8, Aristoph. Nub. 741, Vesp. 702. G. § 191, IV 2 (2) (c) p. 238.

15. νέφος] Herod. VIII. 65, 7, ἐκ δὲ τοῦ κονιορτοῦ καὶ τῆς φωνῆς γενέσθαι ρέφος, καὶ μεταρσιώδεν φέρεσθαι ἐπὶ Σαλαμῖνος ἐπὶ τὸ στρατόπεδον τὸ τῶν Ἑλλήνων. θύκονοστεῖν, subdere, sedari, 'to settle' on the ground.

16. κατασκήπτειν εἰς, 'lighted upon,' generally used of a flash of lightning. Cf. Her. I. c. ἦρ (τὸ φθεγγόμενον) κατασκήψῃ ἐς τὴν Πελοπόννησον. The mystic procession therefore came to the help of the Greeks. Έπειτα] The Greeks, according to Herod. VIII 64, sent a vessel to Aegina to fetch (the statues of) Aeacus and the other Aeacids, viz. Peleus, Phocus, Achilles. Telamon and Ajax had already been invoked from Salamis: εἴξαμενοι τὰς τοῦς θεοὺς αὐτούς μὲν ἐκ Σαλαμῖνος Αἴαντα τε καὶ Τελαμῶνα ἐτεκαλέσοντο, ἐπὶ δὲ Αἰακὸν καὶ τοὺς ἄλλους Αἰακίδας ρῆμα ἀπέστελλον εἰς Αἴγιναν. The boat came back at the beginning of the battle, ib. 84.

17. καθορᾶν θεοῖς, 'fancied that they distinguished, saw clearly.' See n. to 26, 2.

18. ἀνατείνεις τὰς χεῖρας ἐπεχόντων, 'holding their hands stretched out in front of.' See critical appendix.

20. παρακελημένους, *invocatos.*

§ 2. 21. πρῶτος μὲν, answering to *οἱ δὲ ἄλλοι*. The *οὐτός* is continuative. This is probably an error of Plutarch's: according to Herodotus viii 11, it was at Artemisium that Lykomedes performed the exploit mentioned. He makes Ameinias the first to capture a vessel at Salamis.

23. παρόσημα, = *ἐπισημα*, *insignia*, 'ensigns,' 8, 1.
[μάθηκεν] 5, 2.

24. Φλυῆσιν, 'in the deme Phlya,' 1, 3, in which there was a temple of Apollo with the laurel crown (*Phœbo lauri-* Ovid ars am. 3, 389), called *δαφνηφορεῖον* (Athen. p. 424 r). See Dict. of Antiqu. s. v. *daphnephoria*. Pausanias 1, 31, 4 mentions an altar of Apollo *Διονυσόδοτος* in this deme.

25. ἔξιστούμενοι τὸ πλῆθος, 'being on an equality in point of numbers,' for as Nepos says, *barbarus alienissimo sibi loco, contra opportunissimo hostibus, adeo angusto mari confixit, ut eius multitudo navium explicari non potuerit.* κατὰ μέρος, 'in detachments:' see above l. 14, κατὰ μικρόν. προσφε-
ρομένους, 14. 2.

27. μέχρι δεοής ἀντισχόντας, 'although they resisted until evening.' Cf. Herod. viii 86 κατοι ἡσάν γε καὶ ἐγένοτο ταῦτη τὴν ἡμέρην μακρῷ ἀμείνοντες αὐτοὶ ἐωυτῶν ἡ πρὸς Εὐβοΐην, πῶς τις προθυμεόμενος καὶ δειμανῶν Σέρξην, ἐδόκει τε ἔκαστος ἐωυτὸν θεήσεσθαι βασιλέα. [Σιμωνίδης] Simonides of Keos, to be distinguished from his namesake the iambic poet of Amorgos, was the most popular of the Greek lyric poets, b.c. 558—469, being the spokesman of the nation in celebrating the heroism of the victors in the great national struggle with Persia. We have no complete poem of his left (save epigrams and epitaphs), but only remains of Hymns, Dithyrambs, Hyporchemes, Epinicoi, Parthenia and Threnoi. The most celebrated fragment is the beautiful epode containing the 'lament of Danae.' See Mahaffy, Hist. Gr. Lit. Vol. I p. 207 ff.

28. περιβόητον, 'far-famed.' δράμενοι νίκην, *repotata victoria*, cf. Hom. Il. vii 203 δὸς νίκην Αἰαντὶ καὶ ἀγλαὸν εὑχός ἀρέσθαι, Aesch. Theb. 305 ἄροισθε κῦδος.

29. ἀνδιλον ἔργον, 'naval exploit.' The reading of F^a is ἐν ἀλλο. [Ἐλληνον] G. § 188, 3.

30. ἀνδρεῖ] G. § 188, 1.

2. Δευτέρη] 2, 4 n., Nep. c. 4 *victus est magis consilio* **21** *Themistocli quam armis Graeciae.*

CHAPTER XVI

3. 2. θυμομαχῶν πρὸς τὴν ἀπότευξιν, 'unable to reconcile himself to his defeat.' The verb θυμομαχῶ means properly 'to struggle with the feelings,' implying deep-seated anger. It occurs again in Plutarch Demetr. c. 22 p. 893 F οὐδὲν ἄξιον λέγουν πράττων δμως ἐθυμομάχει πρὸς αὐτοὺς, and once in the N.T., Acta App. xii. 20 ἦν δὲ ὁ Ἡρώδης θυμομαχῶν Τυρόις.

4. Έιδ χωμάτων, 'by means of mounds' or 'across mounds,' i.e. by filling up the strait with earth. Her. viii 97 ἐς τὴν Σαλαμῆνα χῶμα ἐπειράτῳ διαχοῦν, γαυλούς τε ('merchant-ships') Φοινικῆνος συνέδει, ἵνα ἀντὶ τε σχεδής ἔωσι καὶ τείχεος, ἀρέετό τε ἐς πόλεμον ὡς ναυμαχῆν ἄλλην ποιησόμενος,

where Prof. Rawlinson observes that 'in this way Alexander afterwards succeeded in reducing Tyre, though the Tyrians were masters of the sea (Arrian II. 18). The island Tyre, however, lay within half-a-mile of the mainland (Scylax Peripl. p. 101, Quint. Curt. IV 8); while Salamis is nearly a mile from the shore. Also the channel in the former case was at most three fathoms in depth, while at Salamis the depth of the strait reaches four fathoms at the point where it is shallowest.'

5. ἐπάγειν, the usual word for 'leading an army against the enemy.' Hence ἐπακτὸς στρατὸς, Soph. Trach. 258, 'a foreign army of invasion.' τοῖς [Ἐλληνον] G. § 187.

7. Θεμιστοκλῆς] Cf. Her. viii 108 ff. who, however, attributes Themistokles' change of mind to a conference with Eurybiades. See also Plut. Arist. c. 8. ἀποπειρώμενος

'Ἄρει, "by way of sounding," making trial of, 'Aristeides' temper.'
G. § 171, 1.

εἰς λόγῳ 'in word only,' 'in pretence.'

According to Herodotus VII 109, 110, Themistokles and the Athenians were anxious to push on forthwith to the Hellespont, and there break down the bridge of boats, in order to prevent the escape of Xerxes, but they were restrained by the caution of Eurybiades and the Peloponnesians, who represented that it was dangerous to detain the Persian monarch in the heart of Greece. Themistokles readily suffered himself to be persuaded, and contributed much to divert his countrymen from the idea; while at the same time he sent the faithful Sikinnus a second time to Xerxes, with the intimation that he (Themistokles) had restrained the impatience of the Greeks to proceed without delay and burn the Hellespontine bridge, and that he had thus, from personal friendship to the monarch, secured for him a safe retreat. Though this is the story related by Herodotus, we can hardly believe that with the great Persian land-force in the heart of Attica, there could have been any serious idea of so distant an operation as that of attacking the bridge at the Hellespont. It seems more probable that Themistokles fabricated the intention, with a view of frightening Xerxes away, as well as of establishing a personal claim upon his gratitude in reserve for future contingencies. Such crafty manœuvres and long-sighted calculations of possibility seem extraordinary; but the facts are sufficiently attested—since Themistokles lived to claim as well as to receive fulfilment of the obligation thus conferred—and though extraordinary, they will not appear inexplicable, if we reflect, first, that the Persian game, even now after the defeat of Salamis, was not only not desperate, but might perfectly well have succeeded, if it had been played with reasonable prudence; next, that there existed in the mind of this eminent man an almost unparalleled combination of splendid patriotism, long-sighted cunning, and selfish rapacity. Themistokles knew better than any one else that the cause of Greece had appeared utterly desperate only a few hours before the late battle; moreover, a clever man tainted with such constant guilt might naturally calculate on being one day detected and punished, even if the Greeks proved successful. Grote, Vol. v. p. 187, ed. 1. According to Thucydides I 137, 4, Themistokles did actually claim credit with the Persians for preventing the destruction of the bridge. He makes him speak in a letter addressed to Artaxerxes, the son of Xerxes, of an εὐεργεσία being owed to him because of his ἐκ Σαλαμίνος προάγγελοι τῆς ἀναχωρήσεως καὶ τὴν τῶν γεφυρῶν (ἥν ψευδῶς προστενούσατο) τότε δι' αὐτὸν οὐ διάλυσιν. Comp. Nep. c. 5 *Themistocles, verens ne bellare perseveraret, certiore eum (Xerxem) fecit, id agi ut pons, quem ille in Hellesponto fecerat, dissolveretur ac redditu in Asiam excludoretur idque ei persuasit.*

γνώμην ἐποιέστο, 'made a proposal.' So Thuc. i. 128, 5 γνώμην ποιούμαι θυγατέρα τὴν σὴν γῆμαι, ii 2, 4 γνώμην ἐποιοῦντο κηρύγμασι χρῆσθαι ἐπιτηδεῖοις, vii 72, 2 γνώμην ἐποιεῖστο βιάσασθαι τὸν ἔκπλουν. But in Thuc. iii 36, 1 γνώμας ἐποιοῦντο=ἔβουλενοντο 'they conferred together.' Cf. Plut. Marcell. c. 13 p. 305 Λ ἐποίήσατο γνώμην ἡ βουλὴ μηδὲν...δεῖσθαι Πρωμαλούς ἀνθρώπων ἀνάδρων, Cat. c. 41 p. 778 ΙΙΙ Καλαρι πυγγενέμενοι γνώμην ἐποιήσαντο κοινῇ δευτέραν ὑπατεῖαν μετιένται. Arrian uses the phrase with δτι and ως, as in Anab. iv 27, 5 γνώμην ποιησάμενος δτι...ἐνδώσουσι σφᾶς αὐτούς, 29, 9 γνώμην ποιούμενος ως οὐ χαλεπὸν ἐσόμενον τὸ ἔργον, i 1, 10 γνώμην πεποίηντο δτι...διασκεδάσσουσι αὐτήν (=ἐγνώκεσαν 'they had made up their minds').

10. ὅπως...λάβωμεν] G. § 216, 2. τὴν Ἀσίαν κτλ.] Cf. Arist. c. 9, 2 μετὰ δὲ τὴν μάχην ὁ Θεμιστοκλῆς ἀποκειρόμενος τοῦ Ἀριστείδου καλὸν μὲν εἶναι καὶ τὸ πεπραγμένον αὐτοῖς ἔργον ἔλεγε, κρείττον δὲ λείπεσθαι τὸ λαβεῖν ἐν τῇ Εὐρώπῃ τὴν Ἀσίαν ἀναπλεύσαντας εἰς Ἑλλήσποντον τὴν ταχιστὴν καὶ τὸ ζεῦγμα διακόψαντας.

11. δισχεράνοντος, 'exhibiting his displeasure.'

12. τρυφῶντι, 'sitting at ease,' sc. ὑπὸ σκιάδι § 2.

13. Δν...καταστήσωμεν εἰς δνάγκην, 'should we force him to fight for fear of extremities,' 'reduce him to the necessity of fighting to save his life,' Arist. 9, 3 μὴ κατακλεισθεῖς ἀπόρᾳ φυγῆς μετὰ τοσαύτης δυνάμεως τραπῆ πρὸς ἄμυναν ὑπ' ἀνάγκης, Thes. comp. c. Rom. c. 1 p. 37 Λ ὑπὸ δέους ἀνδρεῖος γενόμενος καὶ φόβῳ τοῦ τὰ ἔσχατα παθεῖν ἐπὶ τῷ δράμ μεγάλα δί' ἀναγκὴν παραγενόμενος.

§ 2. **16.** σκιάδι χρυσῆ, 'a golden canopy stretched over him, after the fashion of effeminate Asiatics.' Cf. Anton. c. 26 p. 927 Β of Cleopatra sailing on the river Cydnus κατέκευτο ὑπὸ σκιάδι χρυσοπάστω.

17. ἐφ' ἡσυχ[ιας] σο ἐπ' ἀδελας, secure, Plut. Sol. c. 22.

πᾶσιν αὐτὸς παρὸν, 'superintending all operations in person.'

18. ἐπανορθώσεται τὸ παρεμένα, 'will retrieve his losses,' 'repair his negligences.' Cf. Dem. c. Dionysod. p. 1295, 20, ἐπανορθόυμενος τὸ ἀκούσιον σύμπτωμα, Demosth. (?) Prooem. 16 p. 1429, 1 τὰ τῶν ἀλλων δεωκά ἐπανορθοῦν, Lys. p. 197, 13, ἐπηγνώρθωσαν τὰ ίψ' ἑτέρων δυστυχήσεται.

10. βελτιον] G. § 75. ἢπερ τῶν δλῶν, *de summa rerum*, 8, 1.

21. ἐτέραν προσκατασκευάσαντας, 'building another besides.' ἐπερ οἵν τε, sc. ἐστι.

22. τὸν ἄνθρωπον, contemptuously, 'the man,' 'the fellow,' as often with or without the article. Cf. Plat. Phaedr. c. 66 p. 117 εἰ οὕτω γάρ ἐκέλευν δὲ ἄνθρωπος (sc. qui Socratis venenum praebebat), Phaedr. p. 356 εἰ μανεῖται ἄνθρωπος, Prot. p. 314 εἰ μόγις...ἡμῖν ἄνθρωπος (ianitor) ἀνέψει τὴν θύραν, Plut. Cat. c. 24 p. 351 Λέγος ἐξέπληξε τὸν ἄνθρωπον, de inim. util. c. 9 p. 91 οὐ συλλαβὼν τὸν ἄνθρωπον ἀπέστειλε πρὸ τὸν δεσπότην. So Cam. c. 15 τὴν ἄνθρωπον, 'the woman.' Similarly *homo* is used in Latin, as in Plaut. Men. prol. 66 *abstráxitque hominem in máxumam malám crucem*, Ter. Phorm. Prol. 2; iv 2, 1. See n. to 12, 3.

24. ὥρα, sc. ἐστι, 'it is high time.'

25. πάντας τημᾶς] from this it might seem that the proposal was made in a council of war; yet Aristeides, not being one of the generals, could not have been present; ἔδοξε 1. 27 'it was resolved' points to the same conclusion. ὅπως διαλλαγήσεται] G. § 217.

26. τὴν ταχέστην, sc. ὁδὸν, 7, 2; 3, 1.

27. πέμπτα τινά] Herod. viii. 110 speaks only of certain trustworthy persons, and amongst them Sikinnos again, see above 12, 2.

28. εύνοχων] Her. viii 105, 3 ταρά τοισι βαρβάροισι τημώτεροι εἰσὶ οἱ εὐνοῦχοι πίστιος εἶνεκα τῆς πάσσος.

^{20.} Ἀρνάκην] Aristeid. c. 9 πέμπει πάλις Ἀρνάκην εὐνοῦθεν ὁ Θεμ. ἐκ τῶν αἰχμαλώτων κρύφα. Φρόσηι τῷ βασιλεῖ κελεύθεν

σας, ὅτι πλεῖν ἐπὶ τὰς γεφύρας ὡρμημένους τοὺς Ἑλληνας αὐτὸς ἀποστρέψει σώζεσθαι βουλόμενος. δινόματι] 6, 1.

1. *κεκρατηκότας]* G. § 277, 2. *ἀναπλεῖν κτλ., 'to 22 put out to sea and sail into the Hellespont to the bridge of boats.'* Dem. de Cherson. § 15 p. 93, 21 ήμῶν μὴ δυναμένων ἀπόθενδ' ἀναπλεῖσαι, i.e. *Athenis versus Hellespontum classe subvenihi.*

2. *γεφύραν]* not pleonastic, but explanatory of *ξεῦγμα* as defining its object. Plut. *apophth.* p. 174 κ τὸ τοῦ Ἰστρου *ξεῦγμα λόσαντας*, Diod. Sic. xi 19 τὸν παιδαγωγὸν ἀπέστειλε πρὸς τὸν Ξέρχην δηλώσοντα διοικέτας μέλλουσιν οἱ Ἑλληνες πλεύσαντες ἐπὶ τὸ *ξεῦγμα λύειν τὴν γέφυραν.*

§ 3. 3. *αἰτόμενος βασιλέως]* G. § 171, 2. Cf. Herod. viii 110 ἀποθήκην μέλλων ποιήσεσθαι ἐς τὸν Πέρσεα· *ἴνα, ἢν ἄρα τί μικραλαμβάνῃ πρὸς Αθηναίων πάθος, ἔχῃ ἀποστροφήν.*

4. *περιαιωνθαι, 'to cross over it,' preceded by μεχρὶ αὐτὸς ἐμποιεῖ διατριβός, 'whilst he himself creates delay among the allies.'* Cf. Thuc. iii 38 χρόνου διατριβὴν ἐμποιησάντων, Demosth. c. Everg. § 63 p. 1158, 8 διατριβὰς ἐμποιῶν, Philipp. iii § 71 p. 129, 14 *ἴνα χρόνους ἐμποιῆτε τοῖς πράγμασιν, c. Aristocr. § 98 χρόνους ἐμποιησάντες.*

According to Herod. Themistokles hoped by this to establish a claim upon the king, that he might have a safe retreat in case any mishap should befall him at Athens, and Thucydides says that Themistokles did actually claim credit with the Persians for preventing the destruction of the bridge. 'It is difficult,' says Rawlinson, 'to imagine him looking forward at this time to such a contingency as exile. Still, as Mr Grote observes, 'long-sighted cunning' was one of the leading traits of his character. 'A clever man, tainted with such constant guilt, might naturally calculate on being one day detected and punished, even if the Greeks proved successful.' Grote, Vol. v. p. 188, 189.

7. *περίφοβος]* Diod. I. c. *περίφοβος ἐγένετο μὴ τῆς τὴν Ἀσίαν ἐπανόδου στερηθῆ τῶν Ἑλλήνων θαλασσοκρατούντων.* διδ τάχος ἐποιέστο τὴν *ἀναχάρησιν*, 'set about making his retreat in all haste.'

8. *πέιραν πάρεργαν, sc. ἐαυτῆς, 'gave proof of itself,' 'was manifested, in respect to Mardonius.*

26. δτι τεχίζουσι] G. § 243. Cf. Thucyd. i 91.

27. κατηγορούντος, sc. δτι τεχίζουσι τδ ἄστυ.
ἴπετηδες, 'for the express purpose.'

28. ἐκθενεν, sc. τοὺς Σπαρτιάτας.

29. ἐμβάλλων χρόνον, like διατριβᾶς ἐμποιῶν, 16, 3.

25 1. dvr' αὐτοῦ—ὑπάρχειν, 'to be at their disposal in his stead,' i.e. as hostages for his safety. Cf. Thuc. 91, 2 περὶ αὐτῶν (sc. τῶν ἀπεσταλμένων) δ Θεμιστοκλῆς τοῖς Ἀθηναῖς κρύφα πέμπει κελεύων ὡς ἡκιστα ἐπιφανῶς κατασχεῖν καὶ μὴ ἀφεῖναι πρὶν ἀντολ πάλιν κομισθῶσιν.

2. δ καὶ συνέβη, 'which in fact happened,' i.e. his expectations were realised.

3. γνόντες, 'when they ascertained the truth' from Themistokles himself, for he threw off the mask and avowed the stratagem practised.

4. ἀδήλως, *occulte*, 'secretly.' Thuc. i. 92 δργήν μὲν φανέρων οὐκ ἐποιούντο τοῖς Ἀθηναῖς, τῆς μέντοι βουλήσεως ἀμαρτάνοντες ἀδήλως ἤχθοντο.

§ 2. 5. ἐκ τούτου, 'after this,' in B.C. 477, cf. Thuc. i 93.

Plutarch does not mention that something had already been done two years before in Themistokles' archonship towards the enlargement of the Peiraeus; see Thucyd. I 93 ἔπεισε δὲ καὶ τοῦ Πειραιῶς τὰ λουτά δ Θεμιστοκλῆς οἰκοδομεῖν—ὑπῆρκτο δ' αὐτοῦ πρότερον ἐπὶ τῆς ἐκείνου ἀρχῆς ήσαν κατ' ἓνταντὸν Ἀθηναῖς ἥρξεν—νομίζων τὸ χωρίον καλὸν εἶναι λιμένων ἔχον τρεῖς αὐτοφυῖς, i.e. Zea, Cantharus and Aphrodision or Peiraeus proper, or Munychia, Zea and Piraeus proper.

6. τὴν τῶν λιμένων εὐφύταν, 'the favourable situation of its basins.' Nep. Them. c. 6 *huius consilio triplex Piraei portus constitutus est iisque moenibus circumdatus ut ipsam urbem dignitate aequipararet, utilitate superaret.*

7. ἀρμοττόμενος, 'endeavouring to adapt.'

8. τρόπον τινά, 'in some measure,' G. § 160, 2.

9. ἀντιπολιτευόμενος, 'pursuing an opposite policy to.' Cf. Thuc. II 15.

§ 2. 20. Diodorus also (xi 27) says that he went to Sparta on invitation. According to Herodotus he went there θέλων τιμηθῆναι, because the prize of honour, to which he was really entitled, had been withheld from him by the chiefs at the Isthmus.

'The Spartans,' says Prof. Rawlinson, 'were afraid that in his disappointment he might entertain projects dangerous to Greece, and wished to bring him back to good humour. Among other favours they presented him with a sum of money double the amount of that which Polykrates and Ameinias had received. To his acceptance of this sum Diodorus ascribes it, that he was superseded in his command by Xanthippus.'

22. ἀριστεῶν] G. § 137. **θαλλοῦ]** δλαίης, acc. to Herod. viii 124.

23. τῶν ἀρμάτων τὸ πρωτεῦον, 'the finest of their chariots.' G. § 168. Herod. i. c. ἐδωρήσαντό μν ὗχφ τῷ ἐν Σπάρτῃ καλλιστεύσαντι.

24. τριακοσίους τῶν νέων] Herod. i. c. προέκεμψαν ἀπόντα τριηκόσιοι Σπαρτιητέων λογάδες, οὗτοι οἰτερ ιππέες καλέονται, μέχρι οὐρών τῶν Τεγεητικῶν. μοῦνον δὴ πάντων ἀνθρώπων, τῶν ἡμεῖς ἔσμεν, Σπαρτιῆται πρόεκεμψαν.

These three hundred were the picked regiment of Sparta, forming the active guard and police of the country, the flower of the youth, chosen on aristocratic principles: for the ephors appointed three *hippagretae*, each of whom chose 100 young men, with a statement of the grounds of his selection, Müller's Dor. III 12 § 5, Plut. Lykurg. c. 25, Xen. de rep. Lac. iv 3, Hell. v 3, 9, Dion. Halic. II 13 according to whom they were both horsemen and hoplites. Thucydides also is an important witness to the unusual character of the honours which Them. received: μάλιστα ἵτικήσατε ἄνθραξίν τῶν εἰς ὑμᾶς ἐλθόντων.

τομποῦς, as 'a convoy, escort of honour.'

25. Ὁλυμπίους τῶν ἑβέῆς διορέμνων, 'the next Olympian games were being celebrated,' i.e. Ol. 76, 1 = B.C. 476, G. § 143 note 3.

26. παρελθόντος, 'when he appeared in public,' cf. 4, 1.

27. τῶν διωνιστῶν] G. § 171, 2. The story is not told by Herodotus, but Pausanias (viii 50, 3) mentions it, where

speaking of the presence of Philopoemen at the Nemean games and the applause he received there he adds: *τοιοῦτο ἐς Θεμιστοκλέα ἀλλο ἐν Ὀλυμπίᾳ πυρθάνομαι συμβῆνας καὶ γὰρ Θεμιστοκλέους ἐς τιμὴν ἐπανέστη τὸ ἐν Ὀλυμπίᾳ θέατρον* ('the spectators').

29. *ἐπιδεικνύειν κτλ.*, 'digito monstrare,' 'pointed him out to foreigners, while admiring and applauding him,' G-§ 277, 6, note 1.

23 1. διδοὺς—ἀπέχειν, 'acknowledged that he now reaped in full the fruit due to him for all his labours in behalf of Greece.' *ἀπέχειν* = 'to receive what is due,' 'to receive in full,' cf. Plut. Publicol. c. 14 p. 104 B, Solon c. 22 p. 90 πάντα μισθὼν ἀπέχει, Alex. c. 27 p. 680 καὶ χρήσαντος τοῦ θεοῦ Φειδίτου ἀπέχειν ἐκπλεω τὴν δίκην, Aesch. de f. leg. § 50 p. 34 ἀπέχετε τὴν ἀπόκρισιν.

2. αὐτῷ πονηθέντω] G. § 188, 3.

CHAPTER XVIII

§ 1. 3. καὶ γὰρ] 'in fact,' 'the truth is.' φιλοτιμότατος, 'excessively fond of admiration.' εἰ δει τεκμαίρεσθαι] 'if we are to judge (i.e. as we may judge) by means of the sayings recorded of him.' διὰ τῶν ἀπομνημονευομένων for τοῖς ἀπομνημονευομένοις.

5. ναύαρχος, 'admiral of the fleet,' who was one of the ten generals (*στρατηγοί*) elected every year.

6. οὐδὲν—ἔχρημάτιζεν, 'transacted no private nor public business.' Cf. Thuc. i 87, but *χρηματίζεσθαι* (21, 1) is 'to do business for one self,' 'to make money,' cf. Thuc. vii 13, 3 οὐδένεοι χρηματιεῖσθαι μᾶλλον ή μαχεῖσθαι. κατὰ μέρος, singillatim, 'one by one.' Cf. 15, 2.

7. ἐπανεβάλλετο, 'he used to put off from day to day.' Cf. Herod. i 91 τρία ἔτεα ἐπανεβάλλετο τὴν Σαρδίων ἀλωσιν, Phalar. Ep. 69 ἐπεμψά σαι τὸ ἀργύριον οὐδ' δύον ἐπαναβάλλόμενος.

8. τὸ προσπέντον, 'any business that devolved upon him, necessary business.'

9. Ἰνα—δοκῆ] G. § 216, 2. δμοῦ)(κατὰ μέρος.
πλεύστον, i. q. μάλιστα.

12. ἀκτούντας, 'cast ashore,' not 'floating in the sea,' (Stewart), cf. 10, 5. παρὰ τὴν θαλασσαν] 2, 6 l. 27.

13. περικεμένους, *alligata habentes* 'having round them,' 'wearing,' G. § 164. Cf. Herod. i 171 περὶ τοῖς αὐχέσι περικείμενοι (τὰς ἀσπίδας), Plut. Pelop. c. 30 p. 294 c τὸν στέφαγον δὲ πίνων περιέκειτο. In purely classical Greek κείμαι is the recognised *passive perfect* of τίθεμαι, τέθειμαι being the perf. middle: e. g. ὁ τιθεις ρόμον τέθεικε: ἡ τιθεμένη πόλις ρόμον τέθειται, δ τιθέμενος (pass.) ρόμος κείται: so a father τίθεται δυομά παιδί, but παιδί κείται δυομα. See Shilleto on Thucyd. i 37, 3 who quotes as an exception belonging to the days of decadence Menander fr. inc. 65 τῷ μὲν τὸ σῶμα διατεθειμένῳ κακώς. φέλια, 'bracelets,' a favourite ornament of the Persians, as also στρεπτοὺς (pr. στρεπτοὺς κύκλους) torques, collars of twisted or linked metal, Herod. iii 20.

§ 2. 16. Cf. Mot. p. 185 a, apophth. 8 Ἀγριφάτου δὲ τοῦ καλοῦ πρότερον μὲν ἐρώντα τὸν Θεμιστοκλέα φεύγοντος καὶ καταφρονοῦντος, ἐπειδὴ δὲ δόξαν ἔσχε μεγάλην, προσερχομένου καὶ κολακεύοντος, οἱ μειράκιον, εἶπεν, δψὲ μὲν ἀμφότεροι, ἀλλὰ τοῦν ἐσχήκαμεν.

17. ὑπερηφάνως αὐτῷ κεχρημένον, 'who had treated him disdainfully.'

18. δψὲ μὲν κτλ., 'it has taken some time, but we have both at once come to our senses:' in his own case, because he had recovered from his passion.

21. πλατάνῳ, as being ἀμφιλαφής, 'wide-spreading,' Plat. Phaedr. p. 230 b.

22. χαραζομένους, 'in a storm.'

24. τοῦ Σεριφίου] so 11, 4 τοῦ Ἐρετρίως, as being well known from the story; cf. Plat. de rep. i c. 4 p. 339 b: τὸ τοῦ Θεμιστοκλέους εὖ ἔχει, δις τῷ Σεριφίῳ λαδορουμένῳ καὶ λέγοντι,

she was sitting at breakfast (i.e. was growing vigorous), he kneaded for her the Peiraeus,' in the double sense of he kneaded it i.e. attached it closely to her, and he kneaded it for her as a dainty dish. It is in the former sense that Plutarch objects to the expression on the ground that the Peiraeus was rather a principal part of Athens than an adjunct. So even according to Thucydides l. c. Themistokles τὸν Πειραιᾶ ὥφελιμότερον ἔνθε μῆε τῆς ἀνω πόλεως καὶ πολλάκις τοῖς Ἀθηναῖς παρήνει, οὐδὲ ποτὲ κατὰ γῆν βιασθῶσι, καταβάντας ἐν αὐτῷ ταῖς ναυσὶ πρὸς ἄπαντας ἀνθίστασθαι, i.e. 'he considered the Peiraeus to be of more value than Athens itself, and frequently endeavoured to impress upon the Athenians, that, if ever they should be overwhelmed by a superior land force, they might go down to it and defy all the world.'

18. ἐξῆψε, 'fastened it to,' 'made it depend on.'

19. δοθεν, 'by which means he made the people (*plebs*) powerful against the nobles (*optimates*).'
Arist. Pol. 5, 3, 5
μᾶλλον δημοτικοὶ οἱ τὸν Πειραιᾶ οἰκοῦντες τῷν τὸ δστυ, ib. ὁ ναυτικὸς δχλος γενέμενος αἵτιος τῆς περὶ Σαλαμῖνα μάχης καὶ διὰ ταύτης τῆς ἡγεμονίας διὰ τὴν κατὰ θαλασσαν δύναμιν τὴν δημοκρατίαν λοχυροτέραν ἐποίησεν.

'The conversion of Athens into a sea-power from a land-power was a change not in harmony with that old-fashioned Hellenism, undisturbed uniformity of life and narrow range of active duty and experience which Aristoteles seems to have approved in common with the subsequent philosophers. The seaman was naturally more of a wanderer and cosmopolite than the heavy-armed soldier; the land-service was a type of steadiness and inflexible ranks, the sea-service that of mutability and adventure. Such was the idea entertained by Plato and other philosophers (legg. iv pp. 705, 706, Isokrat. Panathenaik. c. 43), though we may remark that they do not render justice to the Athenian seaman, whose training was far more perfect and laborious and his habits of obedience far more complete, than that of the Athenian hoplite or horseman: a training beginning with Themistokles and reaching its full perfection about the commencement of the Peloponnesian war. Grote, Hist. Vol. v. p. 67 ff.'

20. κελευστῆς, 'commanders of the rowers,' lat. *portisculos* or *hortatores*, the officers who gave them the signal, that they might keep time in rowing, a matter of great importance where

spoiled child over his mother. It is a favourite word with Plutarch: cf. de Pyth. or. c. 16 p. 401 εἴντρυφῶν τῷ λερῷ, Pel. c. 30 p. 294 σε Πελοπίδᾳ οὐχ οὕτω ἐνετρύφησε, Arist. c. Cat. comp. δὶς δγκον ἐντρυφῶσαν τοῖς ἄρχεσσιν ἀξιοῦσιν, Sull. c. 5 p. 453 εἰ τὸν Σύλλαν οἱ μὲν ἐπήγειραν ἐντρυφήσαντα τοῖς βαρβάροις, Eum. c. 15 p. 592 στοῖς ἡγεμόσιν ἐντρυφῶντες. The story is told also in Cato mai. c. 8 p. 240 in περὶ δὲ τῆς γυναικοκρατίας διαλεγόμενος ‘πάντες’ εἶπεν ‘ἀνθρώποι τῶν γυναικῶν ἄρχουσιν, ήμεις δὲ πάντων ἀνθρώπων, ήμῶν δὲ αἱ γυναῖκες.’ τοῦτο μὲν οὖν ἔστιν ἐκ τῶν Θεομιστοκλέους μετενηργεγένετος ἀποφθεγμάτων. ἐκεῖνος γὰρ ἐπιτάπτοντος αὐτῷ πολλὰ τοῦ νιοῦ διὰ τῆς μητρὸς ‘ὦ γύναι’ εἶπεν ‘Ἄθηναῖς μὲν ἄρχουσι τῶν Ἑλλήνων, ἐγὼ δὲ Ἀθηναῖν, ἐμοῦ δὲ σὺ, σοῦ δὲ ὁ νιός, ὅστε φειδέσθω τῆς ἔξουσίας, δὶς δὲ τὸν ἀνόρτος ὥν πλεῖστον Ἑλλήνων δύναται, also in the Αροφθεγματα, p. 185 D.

9. δι' ἐκείνην, ‘by means of her.’

12. ιδιός τις, *singularis quidam, rarus*, ‘peculiar,’ ‘different from everybody else.’ Cf. de adulat. c. 14 p. 57 εἴδιος ἀνθρώπος, πάντα πράγματα φέρει, πάντα διλότως, Aem. Paul. c. 37 p. 275 Λέγει τῆς τελευτῆς ιδιού τινα καὶ παρηλλαγμένον τρόπον ίστοροῦσι, ib. 38, 2 κάκενο δ'. ιδιον καὶ περιττὸν τοῦ Αἰμιλίου, Fab. Max. c. 1, 7 νοῦς ιδιον καὶ περιττὸν ἐν γνωμολογίαις σχήμα καὶ βαθος ἔχων, Marc. c. 7, 4 καὶ νικῶσι νικην ιδιαν τε καὶ τρόπῳ περιττὴν καὶ παράδοξον, Cebet. Tab. 11 γραφὴ μύθους ἔχουσα ιδιούς.

13. ἐν πᾶσι, ‘amongst all men,’ not ‘in all things.’ πιπράσκων, ‘when he put up for sale.’

14. ἐκθέλειν, sc. τὸν κῆρυκα, *praeconem*, ‘the crier.’ καὶ, i.e. among other advantages.

15. τῶν μνωμένων] G. § 168. The story is introduced differently by Cic. de off. II § 71 *Themistocles cum consuleretur, utrum bono viro pauperi an minus probato diviti filiam collocaret, ‘ego vero’ inquit ‘malo virum, qui pecunia egeat, quam pecuniam quae viro.’*

16. τοῦ πλουσίου] G. § 177.

17. ἀνδρὸς, sc. δεδμενα.

18. μὲν οὖν, 'so then,' in concluding one subject, and passing on to a fresh one. Cf. 2, 5 n.

CHAPTER XIX

§ 1. 19. γενόμενος δπὸ τῶν πρᾶξεων ἐκείνων, 'when he had done with his famous exploits'; cf. 2, 1 ἐν σχολαῖς ἀπὸ τῶν μαθημάτων γενόμενος, Marc. Cato 1, 6 ἀπὸ τῶν στρατιωτικῶν γενόμενος ἔργων. ἐκείνων, viz. those recorded in c. 1—c. 17.

20. ἀνοικοδομεῖν, 'to rebuild.' Thuc. i 89, 8 τὴν πόλιν ἀνοικοδομεῖν παρεσκευάζοντο καὶ τὰ τείχη τοῦ τε γάρ περιβόλου βραχέα εἰσήκει καὶ οἰκίαι αἱ μὲν πολλαὶ πεπτώκεσσαν, δλίγαι δὲ περιῆσσαν, ἐν αἷς αὐτοὶ ἐσκήνησαν οἱ δυνατοὶ τῶν Περσῶν.

21. [Ιστορεῖ] 1, 3 l. 22. Θεόπομπος] Theopompus of Chios, the greatest of Isocrates' pupils, was one of the lost historians of the fourth century, born about B.C. 380. He was twice exiled from his native country. Besides a number of ἐπιδεικτικοὶ λόγοι, the most successful of which appears to have been his panegyric on Mausolus, prince of Caria, he wrote in 12 books a continuation of Thucydides' history from B.C. 411 to the battle of Knidus in B.C. 394. But his most voluminous and greatest work was his Φλιππικὰ or History of Philip, father of Alexander the Great, from B.C. 360 to B.C. 336 in 58 books which embraced in digressions all the contemporary history down to the king's death. The work, when these digressions were omitted, was reduced by Philip III of Macedonia to 16 books. His subject was treated in an intensely rhetorical spirit, seeking everywhere for effect rather than strict truth. Mr Mahaffy, *Hist. of Gr. Lit.* Vol. II p. 437, calls him 'a self-conscious, rhetorical, Isocratical ape of the great historian Herodotus.' See Introduction.

22. χρήμασι πείσας] So also Andok. 3, 38 λαθόντες δὲ Πελοποννησίους ἐτειχίσαμεν τὰ τείχη, πρίμενοι δὲ παρὰ Δακε-

δαιμονίων μη δοῦναι τούτων δίκην, βιασάμενοι δὲ τοὺς ἐναντίους τὴν ἀρχὴν τῶν Ἑλλήνων κατειργασάμενα. Grote v. p. 330 n. 1 remarks that Theopompus' statement is not inconsistent with the narrative of Thucydides, but the latter either had not heard or did not believe it, although it is not improbable in itself.

μη] ἐναντιωθῆναι τοὺς ἑφόρους] Sparta shared the jealousy and uneasiness of the allies at the fortification of Athens, and would have been pleased to see all the other Grecian cities as well systematically defenceless like herself; Grote v. p. 327 who quotes Thuc. I 90 τὰ μὲν καὶ αὐτοὶ ὡδὸν ἀν ὄροντες μῆτ' ἐκέίνους μηδ' ἄλλοι μηδένα τεῖχος ἔχοτα, τὸ δὲ πλάνον τῶν ἐνυπάκουώντων καὶ φοβουμένων τοῦ τε ναυτικοῦ αἰγῶν τὸ πλῆθος, δὲ πρὶν οὐδὲ ὑπῆρχε, καὶ τὴν ἐπὶ τὸν Μῆδειον πόλεμον τόλμαν γενομένην, Nepos Them. c. 6 *namque Lacedaemonii caussam idoneam nacti propter barbarorum excursiones qua negarent oportere extra Peloponnesum ullam urbem muros habere, ne essent loca munita, quas hostes possiderent, Atheniensis aedificantis prohibere sunt conati.*

23. οἱ πλειστοι, sc. ἰστοροῦσι, above all Thucydides, whose authority must outweigh that of all others put together.
παρακρουσάμενος, 'by outwitting, beguiling, misleading them.' The word is properly used of a seller who strikes the scale so as to weigh falsely.

Alcib. 17 fin. ἐκεῖνος μὲν οὖν ἦτυχεν, ὥν ηξίον, παρακρουσάμενος τὸς πολίτας, Thes. c. 28, 1 καὶ ταύτην παρακρουσάμενον λαβεῖν, ib. 10, 3, Sol. 30, 2 τὸς πολίτας παρακρουσάμενος, Fab. Max. 19, 3 δάλιγον παρακρουσάμενος ἕσφηλο τὸν ἀδρα, Alc. comp. c. Coriol. 2, 1; Lys. 8, 3; Brut. 50, 3; Dem. adv. Lept. § 74 p. 479 ὅσῳ τὸ νικῶντας τοῦ παρακρουσάμενους πράττειν διοιն ἐντιμότερον, τοσούτῳ καλλιον Κόνωνα τὰ τείχη στήσας Θεμιστοκλέους, Olynth. II p. 22 A, Philipp. II p. 66 B, 68 B, de Halon. p. 67 B, adv. Macart. p. 1032 D, Plat. Lys. p. 215 C.

24. μὲν γαρ] 11, 2.

25. ἐπιγραψάμενος, legationis titulum sibi ascribens, legationem simulans, 'assuming,' properly 'setting down in the title.' Cf. Demetr. c. 42 p. 909 εἰ τῷ θεῷ ἀνομοιοτάτῃ ἐπιγραψάμενος προσωνυμαν, Timol. c. 36 πολλάκις ἔφη τῷ θεῷ χάριν ἔχειν, ὅτι βούλομενος σῶσαι Σικελίαν τὴν αὐτοῦ προσηγορίαν ἐπεγράψατο, *quod cum servare vellet Italiam, suum huic rei adscripserit nomen*, i.e. *quod sibi potissimum huius rei mandaverit administrationem* (*Held*).

26. δτι ταχίζουσι] G. § 243. Cf. Thucyd. i 91.
27. κατηγοροῦντος, sc. δτι τειχίζουσι τδ ἄστυ.
ἐπίτηδες, 'for the express purpose.'
28. ἐκλενεν, sc. τοὺς Σπαρτιάτας.
29. ἐμβάλλων χρόνον, like διατριβὰς ἐμποιῶν, 16, 3.
25. 1. αὐτὸν—ὑπάρχειν, 'to be at their disposal in his stead,' i.e. as hostages for his safety. Cf. Thuc. 91, 2 περὶ αὐτῶν (sc. τῶν ἀπεσταλμένων) δ Θεμιστοκλῆς τοῖς Ἀθηναῖοις κρύφα πέμπει κελεύων ὡς ἡκιστα ἐπιφανῶς κατασχεῖν καὶ μὴ ἀφεῖναι πρὶν ἀν αὐτοὶ πάλιν κομσθώσιν.
2. δ καὶ συνέβη, 'which in fact happened,' i.e. his expectations were realised.
3. γνόντες, 'when they ascertained the truth' from Themistokles himself, for he threw off the mask and avowed the stratagem practised.
4. ἀδήλως, occulte, 'secretly.' Thuc. i. 92 δργήν μὲν φανερὰν οὐκ ἐποιοῦντο τοῖς Ἀθηναῖοις, τῆς μέντοι βουλήσεως ἀμαρτάνοντες ἀδήλως ἤχθοντο.
- § 2. 5. ἐκ τούτου, 'after this,' in B.C. 477, cf. Thuc. i 93.
- Plutarch does not mention that something had already been done two years before in Themistokles' archonship towards the enlargement of the Peiraeus; see Thucyd. i 93 ἔπεισε δὲ καὶ τοῦ Πειραιῶς τὰ λοιπὰ δ Θεμιστοκλῆς οἰκοδομεῖν—ὑπῆρκτο δ' αὐτὸν πρότερον ἐπὶ τῆς ἐκείνου ἀρχῆς ἡς κατ' ἐνιαυτὸν Ἀθηναῖοι ἡρξεν—νομίζων τὸ χωρίον καλὸν εἶναι λιμένας ἔχον τρεῖς αὐτοφυές, i.e. Zea, Cantharus and Aphrodision or Peiraeus proper, or Munychia, Zea and Piraeus proper.
6. τὴν τῶν λιμένων εὐφύταν, 'the favourable situation of its basins.' Nep. Them. c. 6 *huius consilio triplex Piraei portus constitutus est itisque moenibus circumdatus ut ipsam urbem dignitate aequipararet, utilitate superaret.*
7. ἀρμοττόμενος, 'endeavouring to adapt.'
8. τρόπον τινά, 'in some measure,' G. § 160, 2.
9. ἀντιπολιτευόμενος, 'pursuing an opposite policy to.' Cf. Thuc. ii 15.

10. λέγεται, i.e. by the rationalistic interpreters of legends. πραγματευόμενοι κτλ., 'exerting themselves to draw them away.' Cf. quæst. conv. vii 6, 21 p. 709 δ πραγματευόμενος ἀρχήν τινα φίλιας δι' αὐτοῦ γενέσθαι τῷ καλουμένῳ πρὸς τὸν καλοῦτα.

12. φυτεύοντας] chiefly with olive and fig trees. Cf. Thuc. i 2 οὐδὲ γῆν φυτεύοντες, Isaeus 9 de Astyph. her. § 28, p. 77 τὸ χωρίον—ἐφύτευσε καὶ ἐγεργεῖ.

13. διεδοσαν, 'spread abroad.' Cf. Alcib. 31, 2 διαδοὺς λόγον, Sull. 6 διεδίδον λόγον ὡς, Demosth. 31, 1, Sertor. 25, 1 λόγους μοχθηρούς διεδίδον τοὺς ἐπιτηδεῖους, Luc. 34 λόγους χρήστους διαδοὺς, Arat. 6, 1 διεδόθη λόγος ὡς, Xen. Cyr. iv 2, 10 λόγος διεδόθη, rumor diditus est, Isocr. Phil. § 7, p. 83 διαδοθέντος τοῦ λόγου διαλύσεσθαι τὸν πόλεμον ὑμᾶς, Evag. § 74 p. 206 β τοὺς λόγους διαδοθέντας ἐν ταῖς τῷν εὖ φρονούντων διατριβαῖς.

14. ἐρίσαντα περὶ τῆς χώρας, 'when he disputed possession of the country with her'; after the common legend about the naming of Athens, according to which Poseidon and Athena contended for the possession of the city. The gods resolved that whichever of them produced a gift most useful to mortals should have possession of the land. Poseidon struck the ground with his trident and straightway a horse appeared. Athena then planted the olive, whereupon the gods decreed that the olive was more useful to man than the horse, and gave the city to the goddess, after whom it was called. Cf. Herod. v. 82. τὸν Ποσειδῶνα—ἐνίκησε, 'prevailed over Poseidon by showing' etc. Cobet would read ἐρίσαντος—Ποσειδῶνος, taking ἐνίκησεν absolutely = *superior discessit*, gained the precedence.

15. τὴν μορίαν, 'the sacred' olive in the Acropolis; the name was afterwards given to all the olives that grew in the precincts of temples and were state property. τοῖς δικαιοτάτοις] according to one legend, the gods, according to another, Kekrops or Kranaus or Eretheus.

§ 3. 16. Ἀριστοφάνης] Equit. v. 815 καὶ πρὸς τούτους ἀριστώσῃ τὸν Πειραιᾶ προσέμαξεν, i.e. 'and besides this, when

she was sitting at breakfast (i.e. was growing vigorous), he kneaded for her the Peiraeus,' in the double sense of he kneaded it i.e. attached it closely to her, and he kneaded it for her as a dainty dish. It is in the former sense that Plutarch objects to the expression on the ground that the Peiraeus was rather a principal part of Athens than an adjunct. So even according to Thucydides 1. c. Themistokles τὸν Πειραιᾶ ὀφελμάτερον ἐνέμετε τῆς ἀνω πόλεως καὶ πολλάκις τοῖς Ἀθηναῖς παρήνει, ὡς ἄρα ποτὲ κατὰ γῆν βιασθῶσι, καταβάτας ἐς αὐτὸν ταῖς ναυσὶ πρὸς ἀναντας ἀνθίστασθαι, i.e. 'he considered the Peiraeus to be of more value than Athens itself, and frequently endeavoured to impress upon the Athenians, that, if ever they should be overwhelmed by a superior land force, they might go down to it and defy all the world.'

18. ἔξηψε, 'fastened it to,' 'made it depend on.'

19. δόθεν, 'by which means he made the people (*plebs*) powerful against the nobles (*optimates*).'¹ Arist. Pol. 5, 3, 5 μᾶλλον δημοτικοὶ οἱ τὸν Πειραιᾶ οἰκουμένες τῶν τὸ δέστυν, ib. ὁ γατικὸς δχλος γενόμενος αἵτιος τῆς περὶ Σαλαμίνα μάχης καὶ διὰ ταῦτης τῆς ἡγεμονίας διὰ τὴν κατὰ θαλατταν δύναμιν τὴν δημοκρατιαν στρατιωτέραν ἐποίησεν.

'The conversion of Athens into a sea-power from a land-power was a change not in harmony with that old-fashioned Hellenism, undisturbed uniformity of life and narrow range of active duty and experience which Aristeides seems to have approved in common with the subsequent philosophers. The seaman was naturally more of a wanderer and cosmopolite than the heavy-armed soldier; the land-service was a type of steadiness and inflexible ranks, the sea-service that of mutability and adventure. Such was the idea entertained by Plato and other philosophers (legg. iv pp. 705, 706, Isokrat. Panathenaik. c. 43), though we may remark that they do not render justice to the Athenian seaman, whose training was far more perfect and laborious and his habits of obedience far more complete, than that of the Athenian hoplite or horseman: a training beginning with Themistokles and reaching its full perfection about the commencement of the Peloponnesian war. Grote, Hist. Vol. v. p. 67 ff.

20. κελευστὰς, 'commanders of the rowers,' lat. *porticulos* or *hortatores*, the officers who gave them the signal, that they might keep time in rowing, a matter of great importance where

there were as many as 175 rowers, as was the case in the Greek trireme.

21. διὸ] because of the connexion between democracy and sea-life. τὸ βῆμα—ἀπέστρεψαν, ‘the thirty changed the position of the βῆμα or tribune in the Pnyx which had been made to face the sea, so that it looked towards the country.’

The Pnyx was the usual place of assembly of the people in the time of Thucydides (viii. 97) and Aristophanes (Eq. 42). It was situated to the west of the Areopagus on a slope connected with mount Lykabettos; semicircular in form, with a boundary wall and an area of about 12,000 square yards. On the north and close to the wall was the βῆμα, a stone platform, ten or eleven feet high, ascended by steps: it was cut out of the solid rock, whence it was sometimes called ὁ λίθος (Arist. Pax 630). Its position was such that it commanded a view of the sea from behind, and of the Propylaia and Parthenon in front, though the hill of Areopagus lay partly between it and the Akropolis.

22. Πυκκλ] a later form for πυκνή.

23. οἱ τριάκοντα] ‘the thirty men’ usually called ‘the thirty tyrants’ to whom the government of Athens was entrusted by the Lacedaemonian admiral Lysander after his capture of the city in B.C. 404=Ol. 94, 4. Their power lasted for eight months till Thrasybulus occupied Phyle and advanced to the Peiraeus.

How significant such apparently trifling matters may be, Plutarch remarks very sensibly in his life of Gaius Gracchus, c. 5: τῶν πρὸς αὐτοῦ πάντων δημαρχῶν πρὸς τὴν σύγκλητον ἀφόρωντων καὶ τὸ καλούμενον κομίσιον, πρώτος τότε στραφεῖς ἔξω πρὸς τὴν ἄγονα (λόγοτα) δημιγορῆσαι, καὶ τὸ λοιπὸν οὕτω ποιῶν ἐξ ἑκείνου, μικρῷ παρεγκλίσει καὶ μεταθέσει σχῆματος μέγα πρᾶγμα κινήσας καὶ μετενέγκων τρόπον τινὰ τὴν πολιτείαν ἐκ τῆς ἀριστοκρατίας εἰς τὴν δημοκρατίαν, ὡς τῶν πολλῶν δέον, οὐ τῆς βουλῆς, στοχάζεσθαι τοὺς λέγοντας, i.e. ‘whereas all the popular leaders who preceded him faced the senate and the comitium, he is recorded as the first who turned his face the other way to the forum while haranguing the people, and he continued to do so from that time; and by a small deviation and shifting of posture he stirred a great question, and in a way transformed the government from an aristocratical to a democratical form, as by this new attitude intimating that the orators should address themselves to the many and not to the Senate.’

25. διλυγαρχαὶ] observe the chiastic antithesis.

CHAPTER XX

§ 1. 27. Cf. Arist. c. 22, Cic. de off. iii. § 49.

'This celebrated story has long ceased,' says Grote, Hist. v p. 27 note 2, 'to be received as a matter of history. It is quite inconsistent with the narrative of Herodotus, as well as with all the conditions of the time: Pagasae was Thessalian, and as such hostile to the Greek fleet rather than otherwise: the fleet seems to have never been there: moreover we may add, that taking matters as they then stood, when the fear from Persia was not at all terminated, the Athenians would have lost more than they gained by burning the ships of the other Greeks, so that Themistoklēs was not very likely to conceive the scheme, nor Aristeidēs to describe it in the language put into his mouth. The story is probably the invention of some Greek of the Platonic age, who wished to contrast justice with expediency and Aristeidēs with Themistoklēs—as well as to bestow at the same time a panegyric upon Athens in the days of her glory.'

Θεμιστοκλῆς δὲ, as opp. to the later oligarchs c. 19, 3.

29. κατήρευ, *appulit*, 'put into port.' Cf. Thuc. viii 31, 2 αἰδῆλαι νῆσοι κατήραν ἐσ τὰς ἐπικεμένας ταῖς Κλαζομέναις νήσους, ib. 42, 4 ἐσ Κνίδον κατάραντες, ib. 99, 3 καταρεῖ ἐσ τὴν Ἰκαρον, ib. 101, 2 ἐσ Σιγεων κατήραν. Mark the distinction between the tenses, κατήρευ 'had put in' and διεχειμάζε 'was passing the winter.'

Παγασᾶς] Pagasae was a port on the Pagasaean bay, coast of Thessaly, south of Iolkos. Cic. de off. l. c. in telling the story speaks of Gytheum, and of the Lacedaemonian instead of the Grecian fleet.

26 **2.** ἀπόρρητον, 'not to be divulged.' Arist. Eq. 648.
τοὺς πολλοὺς] 5, 4.

4. ἀν ἕκενος δοκιμᾶση περάνεν, 'should he give his sanction, to execute it.'

6. ξύφαστ—διαγοσθαῖ] G. § 136 note 3. νεώριον, here = γαύσταθμον, 'ships assembled in the roadstead,' Thuc. i 108, 3 τὸ νεώριον τὸ Δακεδαμούλων ἐπέτρησαν, i.e. Gytheum.

8. προελθάν] see Cr. App.

9. πράξεως] G. § 175, 1.

11. πανστασθαι, sc. τῆς πράξεως.

§ 2. 12. ἐν τοῖς Ἀμφικτυονικοῖς συνέδροις, 'at special meetings of the Amphictyonic league,' viz. the most famous and important one (*τὸ καὶ τὰν Ἑλλήνων συνέδριον*) which met twice a year at Thermopylae near the temple of Ceres at Anthela, and at Delphi.

Its twelve members were the Phokians, Lokrians, Dolopes at the foot of Mt Pindus, Oetaeans or Anians in the upper valley of the Spercheius, the Achaeans of Phthiotis, Malians, Magnetes, Perrhaebi, Thessalians, Boeotians, Dorians, Ionians. The council consisted of deputies from each of these states of two descriptions, *ἱερομνήμονες* (=οὐρέδοις) and *τυλαγόρατος τυλαγόροι*. The original Amphictyonies (*ἀμφικτύονες*=περίοικοι) were the stated meetings of tribes possessing some common sanctuary, without regard to difference of origin, for the sole purpose of promoting harmony and celebrating common festivals, not from motives of foreign policy or party views. In these respects they were distinguished not only from leagues offensive and defensive, but also from coalitions of kindred clans, which, although mutually independent, continued to transact affairs of common interest in general assemblies, at the same time honouring the deity of their race by a common festival. Heeren, *Political Antiq. of Greece*, c. 1 § 11.

13. εἰσηγουμένων δύως, 'making a proposal that,' 'introducing a motion that.' Elsewhere *εἰσηγέσθαι* is followed either by the infinitive, as in Public. c. 16 p. 105 r, Perikl. c. 37 p. 172 D, Lys. c. 15 p. 441 D, or by the objective acc., as in Perikl. c. 13 p. 160 A, Alkib. c. 20 p. 201 B, Lys. comp. c. Sull. c. 2 p. 476 E, C. Caesar c. 30 p. 722 E, Tib. Gracch. c. 13 p. 839 D, Anton. c. 31 p. 929 r, Dion c. 48 p. 979 B.

15. αἱ μὴ συμμαχήσασαι] G. § 276, 1, § 283, 4.

16. φοβηθεὶς μὴ—ἐπικρατήσωσι] G. § 218. Θετταλοῦς] The Thessalians and Thebans had sided with the Persians, the Argives remained neutral. The latter were members of the league in virtue of their Dorian origin, and, as such, were represented by Sparta. The other members of the league who joined the Medes were the Lokrians, Dolopes, Perrhaebians, Oetaeans, Achaeans of Phthiotis,

otis, Malians, Magnetes, Boeotians (except those of Thespiae and Plataea); in fact the majority, Herod. vii 132. οὐδὲ δὲ, 'and besides.'

17. παντεῖς ἐπικρατήσωσι τῶν ψήφων, 'should have complete control over the votes.'

18. τὸ δοκοῦν ἑκένοις] G. § 184, 2.

19. συνεπέ ταῖς πόλεσι] G. § 187.

20. Πυλαγόρων] The Πυλαγόραι (or -αι) ($\pi\lambdaαι=\thetaερμούλαι, \delta\gammaειρω$) were the deputies of the Greek states at the Amphiktyonic Council. Bekker Anecd. p. 292 ἐκλήθη δὲ Πυλαγόρας παρὰ τὸ ἐπὶ Πυλαιᾳ ἀγορεύειν. Πυλαίᾳ δ' ἐστὶ τὸ Ἀμφικτυονικὸν συνέδριον.

τριάκοντα καὶ μία πόλεις] Herodotus mentions Greeks from 36 states as having taken part in the three great battles of Thermopylae, Salamis or Plataea. The list given by Pausanias (v 23, 1) of the nations inscribed upon the statue of Jupiter at Olympia contains 27. In the recently discovered inscription on the famous golden tripod, supported on the serpentine pillar, which after the defeat of Xerxes was consecrated in the temple of Delphi (Herod. ix 81, Thuc. i 182), and the bronze stand of which was carried to Constantinople by the emperor Constantine and placed in the hippodrome there (Gibbon, Rom. Emp. c. 17), there is a list of thirty names. These are the Athenians, Corinthians, Tegeans, Sicyonians, Eginetans, Megareans, Epidaurians, Orchomenians, Phliasians, Troezenians, Hermionians, Tirynthians, Plataeans, Thespians, Mykenaeans, Keans, Melians, Tenians, Naxians, Eretrians, Chalcideans, Styreans, Eleans, Potidaeans, Leucadians, Anaktoriants, Cythnians, Siphnians, Ambraciots, and Lepreats. A blank occurs in the first line of the inscription before the name of the Athenians, in which we may be sure that the Lacedaemonians commemorated their own patriotism. The whole number of names inscribed would thus be thirty-one. See Rawlinson's Herodotus, Vol. iv, Book IX, note A.

23. δενδὸν οὖν εἰ] sc. ἐστι. G. § 228. ἐκσπόνδου, 'excluded from the league.' According to Herodotus vii 132 the Greeks who took up arms to resist the Persians swear to take a tithe of the goods of those who delivered themselves up without necessity and give it to the God at Delphi. Cf. Herod. Sic. xi 3.

24. ἐπὶ τοῖς—πόλεσιν ζήσται, 'shall be in the power of, at the mercy of, the two or three greatest cities.' Cf. Thuc. II 84, 2 τὴν ἐπιχειρησιν ἐφ' ἑαυτῷ ἐνθύμησεν εἶναι, τν 29 4 ἐπ' ἐκείνοις ἀν εἶναι τὴν ἐπιχειρησιν, VII 12, 3 αἱ ἐπιχειρήσεις ἐπ' ἐκείνοις, Antiphon de caede Herodis § 3 ἐπὶ τοῖς τῶν κατηγόρων λόγοις εἶναι, 'to be dependent upon.'

25. ἐκ τούτου, 'from this circumstance,' 'in consequence of this.' μὲν οὖν] 2, 4 l. 4.

26. προσέκρουσε, 'gave offence to,' 'made an enemy of,' lit. 'knocked up against,' 'came into collision with.' The verb προσκρούειν means either *offendo in aliqua re* or *offendor*, 'to give' or 'take offence;' Dem. c. Timokr. § 6 p. 701, 24 προσέκρουσ' ἀνθρώπῳ· πονηρῷ (*in offenditionem hominis improbi incurri*), φ' τελευτῶσ' ὅλῃ προσέκρουσεν ἡ πόλις, c. Mid. 61 p. 534, 14 διτὶ τῷ προσέκρουσε καὶ ἔχθρὸς ἦν, c. Aristog. 41 p. 782, 20 προκετῶς ἀπασι προσκρούσων, Plut. Thes. c. 2 p. 1 τ λέγονται τοῖς ἑαυτῶν προσκροῦσαι πολίταις, Fab. Max. c. 26 p. 189 δ προσέκρουσεν ἡδη πολλάς, Public. c. 7 p. 100 τ παντάπαις προσκρούσας ἀφῆκε τὴν ἄρχην, de am. mult. 6 p. 95 c ἐν ὑπουργοῦντα προσκρούειν πολλοῖς, coniug. pr. 39 φεύγειν το προσκρούειν τῷ ἀνδρὶ τὴν γυναῖκα καὶ τῇ γυναικὶ τὸν ἀνδρα. διό καὶ, 'for which reason in fact.'

27. τὸν Κέμωνα προῆγον ταῖς τιμαῖς] 7, 2, Cam. c. 38 βουλόμενος ἀποκρύψαι τὴν συμφορὰν...ἀντὶ πάντων τοῦτον προῆγεν, Polyb. Hist. XII 18, 6 τοιούτον ἀνδρα προῆγον, XVIII 43 (26), 8 τοὺς ἀλλοὺς ἐτίμων καὶ προῆγον. Cf. Kim. c. 16 p. 488 δ ηὔκηθη δ' ὑπὸ τῶν Λακεδαιμονίων ἡδη τῷ Θεμιστοκλεῖ προσπολεμουμένων καὶ τοῦτον διτὰ νέον ἐν Ἀθήναις μᾶλλον ἰσχύειν καὶ κρατεῖν βουλομένων.

The common reading προῆγον, altered by Reiske into προῆγον, is retained by Sintenis. The middle προάγεσθαι seems to have been used in this sense, though less frequently, notwithstanding Cobet's assertion to the contrary (Mnemos. I.c.): e.g. apoth. p. 176 Β τιμῇ καὶ προάγεσθαι πονηρὸν ἀθρωπον.

ἀντίταλον καθιστάντες, 'by way of setting him up as a political rival.'

CHAPTER XXI

§ 1. 20. *καὶ τοῖς συμάχοις*] i.e. not to the Lacedaemonians only.

20. *χρηματίζομενος δπ'* αὐτῶν, sc. τῶν συμάχων, 'getting money from them by extortion,' 'making money by them.' See n. to 18, 1. Cf. Polyb. Hist. XXXII 21, 15 ἐχρηματίζετο τοὺς ἀνδρας, Isokr. Hel. § 6 p. 209 b οὐδενὸς αὐτοῖς ἀλλου μέλει πλὴν τοῦ χρηματίζεσθαι παρὰ τῶν νεωτέρων, Lysias c. Eratosth. § 6 τιμωρεῖσθαι μὲν δοκεῖν, τῷ δ' ἔργῳ χρηματίζεσθαι. In Plato Soph. p. 225 εἰπότε τῶν Ἰδωτικῶν ἐρίδων χρηματίζομενον it means 'making money by a thing': so in Aristot. Pol. 13, 15, 8, Eth. Nicom. VIII c. 16 p. 1163^b, 8 χρηματίζεσθαι ἀπὸ τῶν κοινῶν.

Herodotus also (VIII c. 112) says that Themistokles obtained money from the islanders λαθητῶν ἄλλων στρατηγῶν, but in the following story Plutarch places him in too unfavourable a light, because Andros was besieged by the Greek fleet after the battle of Salamis, and not by Themistokles only. Yet he threatened the others that he would bring the Greek fleet upon them if they did not send him the amount he required.

οἱα is object to *εἰπεῖν τε καὶ ἀκοῦσαι.*

27

2. *ἀκοῦσαι*, sc. πρὸς Ἀνδρῶν, 'to be told in reply.'

'Ηρόδοτος] VIII c. 111.

3. *ἴκαν ζῆν]* G. § 134, 3.

4. *Βλαν]* in Herod. 'Αγαγκαῖην, and 'Αμηχανίαν for 'Ἀποβλαν.

6. *κωλύεσθαι δοῦναι]* G. § 260, 1 and 2 note 2. The Greeks did not get the money eventually but ἐπεὶ οὐχ οἱα τε ἐγένοντο ἔξελέεις τῆν "Ἀνδρεν, ἀπαλλάσσοντο ἐς Σαλαμίνα.

§ 2. 7. *Τιμοκρέων]* Timokreon, the lyric poet, was an athlete of renown and an aristocrat of Ialysus in Rhodes, whence he was banished on suspicion of *medising*. He quarrelled with Simonides, and the two poets gave vent to their anger in recriminatory verses.

8. καθάπτει, *perstringit, incessit*, ‘assails,’ ‘upbraids,’ lit. ‘fastens on.’ Cf. Thuc. vi 16, 1 ἀναγκὴ ἐνεῦθεν ἀρξασθαι, ἐπειδὴ μου Νικίας καθήψατο, ib. 82, 1, Plato Crit. p. 52 A *Iows dñ* μου δικαίως καθάπτοιντο. πικρότερον, ‘rather bitterly,’ G. § 75.

9. ὡς—διαπραγμένον, ‘for bringing about the restoration of others from exile for a bribe.’ [ἐπὶ χρήμασιν] ἐπὶ is used of the price for which or the condition upon which: cf. Dem. de f. l. § 332 p. 447, 23 διὰ τοὺς ἐπὶ χρήμασι λυμανομένους τοὺς πράγμασι, c. Timokr. § 200 p. 762, 20 ταῦτα πράττων ἐπ' ἀργυρίῳ.

10. κατελθεῖν] 11, 1.

11. προσέμενον, ‘deserted, betrayed for the sake of money.’ The fragment is composed in dactylo-epitrite verse, consisting of trochaic dipodias and dactylic tripodias: at the end of the antistrophe is a trochaic tripodia (*ithyphallicus*).

14. Ξάνθιππον] Xanthippus (10, 5) and Leotychidas, the Spartan king, were both commanders at the battle¹ of Mykale. The former succeeded Themistokles as commander of the Athenian fleet in b.c. 479. τύ γε] the pers. pronoun is added pleonastically with γε, as in Hom. Odys. xv 327. Cf. the common use of δε in Homer. ήγώ δὲ] the δὲ in apodosis is frequent in Homer.

15. Observe the synizesis in ἔπαινέω, Τιμοκρέοντα, πλέων, ὑπόπλεως, and the crasis in μη̄ ὠραν, the Doric ἡ̄ for ḹ in Λατώ, ‘Αριστείδαν and for ω in Iεράν ‘Αθανάν; also τὸ for σό.

16. Iεράν ‘Αθανάν] cf. Hom. Od. xi 323 ‘Αθηνῶν Iεράων.

17. ἵνα λῡστον, ‘above all others best.’ Cf. the emphatic use of *unus* with superlatives, e.g. Virg. Aen. ii 426 *cadit et Rhipeus iustissimus unus qui fuit in Teucris*: see my note to Cie. òr. p. Planc. § 95 1. 10. ήχθαρε Δατά] Sintenis cannot explain this: Bliss thinks that she is said to have ‘hated him’ as a liar, because, like her son, she is herself by preference ἀψευδῆς.

20. κυβᾶλκοισι, ‘suitable to a κόβαλος’ = ‘rogue,’ ‘knave,’ ‘knavish,’ ‘rascally.’ Sintenis reads σκυβαλικοῖσι = ‘dirty,’

'mean.' But F* has κυβαλικοῖσι, and in Hesychius there is a gloss κυβηλικὸν τρόπον without any explanation, followed by κυβηλιστάς: τοὺς κακούργους λέγει καὶ κοβάλους. **[Idlū-sos]** Ialysus was one of three old Doric cities in the island of Rhodes, and a member of the Dorian hexapolis. Thuc. viii 44, 2, Herod. ii 182.

21. οὐδὲ δλεθρον, abiit in malam rem, implying a wish that bad luck might go with him.

26. ὑπόπλεως, 'filled underhand.' **[Ισθμοί]** G. § 61 n. 2. Cf. Ποταμοῖ, Arist. 27, 4. πανδόκευε γλοιῶς, 'he acted the host in a stingy fashion.' So Bergk for the vulgate ἐπανδόκευε γλοιῶς.

γλοιῶς appears to have the same meaning as γλισχρῶς, *parce, tenaciter*. Hesychius explains it by νυστακτικῶς only, but he gives ὀνπαρὸς = *sordidus* as one meaning of γλοιός.

28. οἱ δὲ refers to the implied object of πανδόκευε. μὴ ὥραν Θεμιστοκλέους γενέσθαι, 'that Themistokles may come to no good end,' 'may not live to see next year.' Blaydes ad Aristoph. Lys. v 391 suggests μὴ ὥρας Θεμιστοκλῆς ίκέσθαι, in reference to the common form of imprecation μὴ ὥρας (or ὥρασιν) ίκοιτο which Eustathius ad Odyss. ix 134 (p. 1619, 62) explains πρὸ τῆς ἐκβερισθεῖται, i.e. 'may he be cut off before his time.' Cf. Lucian D. D. vi 4 ἄπαγε μὴ ὥραισιν ίκοιτο, τῶν ὑπὲρ αὐτοῦ ἐπιθυμῶν, where the Scholiast notes as a solecism μὴ ὥραισιν for μὴ ὥρας.

§ 3. 29. ἀναπεπταμένη, lit. 'spread out,' 'open' (8, 2), p. p. part. from ἀναπετώνυμ; hence met. *proterus*, 'bare-faced,' 'unreserved.' Cf. Plat. Phaedr. c. 17 p. 240 ε παρηστὰ κατακορεῖ καὶ ἀναπεπταμένη χρωμένου, Plut. Symposiac. p. 712 A η τε πρὸς τὰ σκώμματα καὶ βωμολοχίας εὐχέρεια, δεινῶς κατάκορος καὶ ἀναπεπταμένη, de Stoicor. repugnant. p. 1050 c τῇ κακίᾳ—ἀναπεπταμένην παρηστὰν δίδωσιν.

28 οἱ. Μοῦσα τοῦδε, κτλ., 'make this song famous:' trochaic dimeters, the two first catalectic; μέλεος (with *synechesis*) depends upon κλέος.

29. οὐδὲ τοικὸς, sc. ἔστι, 'as is fitting.'

6. ἐπὶ μηδισμῷ φυγάν, ‘to have been exiled for medising.’ 2, 6; 7, 3; 24, 3. συγκαταψηφισαμένου, ‘being one of those who condemned him.’

8. αἰτίαν θύχη = γῆτιά το, hence used with the infin. without article. Cf. 5, 3; 10, 5; 12, 3; 18, 2; 29, 1.

This accusation of treason brought against Themistoklēs at Athens, prior to his ostracism, and at the instigation of the Lacedaemonians—is mentioned by Diodorus xi. 54. Thucydides and Plutarch take notice only of the second accusation, after his ostracism. But Diodorus has made his narrative confused, by supposing the first accusation preferred at Athens to have come after the full detection of Pausanias and exposure of his correspondence; whereas these latter events, coming after the first accusation, supplied new proofs before unknown, and thus brought on the second, after Themistoklēs had been ostracised. But Diodorus has preserved to us the important notice of this first accusation at Athens, followed by trial, acquittal and temporary glorification of Themistoklēs—and preceding his ostracism. The indictment stated by Plutarch to have been preferred against Themistoklēs by Leobōtas son of Alkmneon (c. 23) at the instance of the Spartans, probably relates to the first accusation at which Themistoklēs was acquitted. For when Themistoklēs was arraigned after the discovery of Pausanias, he did not choose to stay, nor was there any actual trial; it is not therefore likely that the name of the accuser would be preserved. GROTE, v p. 377.

ταῦτ' ἐποίησεν εἰς αὐτὸν, ‘composed these lines on him.’ Cf. Plat. Phaed. c. 4 p. 61 B εἰς τὸν θεὸν ἐποίησα ποιήματα, Plutarch apophthegm. p. 186 in Αλοχύλου ποιήσαντος εἰς Ἀρφάραον. So in Latin, see my n. on Cic. de Off. i § 28, l. 29.

9. οὐκ ἄρα, ‘not after all,’ ‘not it appears.’

10. ὀρκιατόμει = ὄρκια ἔτεμεν, (cf. foedus icere) ‘made a solemn treaty with.’ ξῶ γάρ ἔτεμνον, τούτεστιν ἔθυσαζον, ἐπὶ τοῖς ὄρκοις καὶ διαλλαγαῖς (Koräes).

11. - ἐντι] Doric form of εἰσι which is itself formed from ἐσ-τι, Stud. Gr. Gr. § 315 obs. 1 p. 179.

12. κούκ ἔγω κτλ., non ego solus, quod Persis faverem, in exilium pulsus sum, sed alios etiam propterea solum vertere coegerunt. κόλουρις, fem. of κόλουρος, ‘that has lost its tail,’ or it may be only a common name for ‘a fox.’

CHAPTER XXII

§ 1. 15. προσιεμένων, 'allowing,' 'believing': cf. Herod. i 75 τοῦτο μὲν οὐ προσίεμαι, vi 123 οὐ προσίεμαι τὴν διαβολὴν, Plato Phaed. c. 45 p. 97 B τοῦτον (τὸν τρόπον τῆς μεθόδου) οὐδαμῆ προσίεμαι.

16. ληπτῆς, *molestus*, 'troublesome,' as eclipsing others and so an object of envy; cf. Thuc. vi 16, 5 (*loquitur Alcibiades*) οἴδα τοὺς τοιούτους καὶ δοι ἐν τινος λαμπρότητι τροέσχον ἐν μὲν τῷ κατ' αὐτοὺς βίῳ λυπηρὸς δυτας τοῖς ὁμοῖοις μὲν μάλιστα, ἔπειτα δὲ καὶ τοῖς ἄλλοις ξύνοντας.

17. ἐν τῷ δήμῳ, 'in the popular assembly.' μημονῶν] G. § 277, 2.

18. τοὺς δυσχεραίνοντας] 16. 1. τί κοπιάτε, 'why are you weary of being so often benefited by the same men?' G. § 279, 1.

19. ὑπὸ τῶν αὐτῶν] G. § 197, 1.

21. εἰσάμενος, = *Ιδρύσας*, 'setting up and dedicating a temple,' from the root ἴδε, of which ἴζω is the present in use, see Veitch's Greek Verbs p. 259 s.v. ίδω. Thucyd. θυσίας τὰς πατρίους τῶν εἰσαμένων (ἱερὰ θεῶν) καὶ κτισάντων ἀφαιρήσεοθε where Bekker and Krüger have ἐσσαμένων (the latter, however, approving ἐσαμένων, the reading of one good MS), Herod. i 66, 1 τῷ Λυκούργῳ τελευτήσαντι ἵδρα εἰσάμενοι. Ἀριστοβούλην, 'best counsellor.' εἰς] 14, 2, G. § 277, 6 note 2.

23. πλησίον] this clause is loosely connected with the relative clause preceding.

24. Μελίτη, a township of the tribe Kecropis, west of the Inner Kerameicus. It contained several temples as well as houses of distinguished men. Dicty of Geogr. Vol. i p. 301 b. οὐ, ubi, 'where.' τῶν θανατουμένων, 'of executed criminals.' On the public executioners (δῆμοι=δημό-

σιοι) cf. Plat. de legg. ix c. 11, p. 872 B δ τῆς πόλεως κοινὸς δῆμιος—θαυμασάτω.

25. προβάλλουσι, 'fling away.'

26. τοὺς βρόχους τῶν ἀπαγχομένων καὶ καθαιρεθέντων, 'the halters of those who destroy themselves by hanging.' Thucyd. iv 48, 3 ἐκ ελιών τινων—τοῖς σπάρτοις καὶ ἐκ τῶν ιματίων παραιρήματα ποιοῦντες ἀπαγχόμενοι.

Plato (de legg. ix c. 18, p. 873 C), proposes a special mark of infamy for those who commit suicide without any apparent ground; δε ἀντὶ θανάτου κένην, τὴν τῆς εἰμαρτήσης ('natural death') βίᾳ ἀποστερῶν μοῖραν, μήτε πόλεως ταξίδεως δίκη μήτε περιωδύνῃ ἀφύκτῃ προσπεσούσῃ τύχῃ ἀγαπασθεῖς μηδὲ αἰσχύνης τινὸς μεταλαβεῖν, ἀβίον ('making life untenable'), ὄργια δὲ καὶ ἀνανθρίας δειλίᾳ ἀντὶ δίκην ἀδικον ἐπιθῆ—τάφους εἶναι τοῖς οὕτῳ φθαρεῖσι πρώτον μὲν κατὰ μόνας μηδὲ μεθ' ἐνδεις ἔνταφου, εἴτε ἐν τοῖς τῶν δοθεκα ὅριοις μερῶν τῶν ὅστις ὄργια καὶ ἀνώνυμα θάντειν ἀκλεεῖς αὐτοῖς μήτε στήλαις μήτε ὀνόμασι δηλοῦντας τοὺς τάφους. Aeschines adv. Ktesiph. p. 636 says of such:—δάν τις αὐτὸν διαχειρίσηται, τὴν χεῖρα τὴν τοῦτο πράξασαν χωρὶς τοῦ σώματος θάπτονται.

27. ἐκφέρουσιν] indefinite subject, see G. § 134, 3 note 1 (b).

§ 2. καὶ] to be taken with *εἰκόνιον*, 'a small portrait-statue also.'

28. καθ' ἡμᾶς, *nostra aetate*, 'in our days.' So Public. c. 19 p. 107 D, Sol. cum Public. comp. 1 p. 109 E. So of καθ' ἑαυτὸν are *aequales*, Nik. c. 3, Sertor. c. 10, Alkib. c. 1, 2. φαίνεται—γενόμενος, 'it is plain that he was,' not 'he seems to have been' (Stewart).

29. 1. τις—ἥρωϊκός, 'an heroic sort of man': *τις* is frequently used in this restrictive sense by Plutarch with adjectives to increase or weaken their notion, denoting that a thing is particularly great or particularly small, e.g. Cat. c. 14 *αἱ τις ἡν τῶν Ιδίων ἐγκωμιῶν ἀφειδής*. Jelf Gr. Gr. § 659, 41. Cf. the use of *quidam*, Reid on Cic. de am. § 6 l. 1 p. 67.
τὴν ψυχὴν] G. § 160, 1.

2. τὸν μὲν οὖν ἐξοστρακισμὸν, 'the banishment by ostracism then as a special (μὲν) result (*οὖν*) of his general unpopularity.' 2, 4 l. 4.

3. ἐποίησαντο, sc. his fellow-citizens, G. § 134, 3 note 1 (c). κολούσσοτες, 'because they would clip, by way of curtailing, his superior authority and preeminence.' G. § 277, 2.
4. ἐπὶ πάντων, 'in the case of all,' 8, 2.
5. βαρέας, 'oppressive.'
7. παραμυθία φθόνου κτλ., 'a mitigation and relief of envious feelings.'
8. τῷ τακτικῶν] G. § 141 note 6.
10. ἀποπνίκτος, 'blowing off,' 'venting.'

CHAPTER XXIII

§ 1. Thucyd. i 135.

12. ἐν Ἀργείᾳ] Argos was not only unfriendly to Sparta but strongly believed to have been in collusion with Xerxes at the invasion of Greece. Nepos Them. c. 8 *Argos habitatum concessit, hic cum propter multas virtutes magna cum dignitate viveret, Lacedaemonii legatos Athenas miserunt, qui eum absentem accusarent, quod societatem cum rege Persarum ad Graeciam opprimendam fecisset.* τὰ περὶ Παυσανίαν συμπτεόντα, 'what had happened about Pausanias,' viz. the detection of his treason.

13. καὶ ἔκεινου πάρεσχε—ἀφορμής, 'gave his enemies a handle against him.' We have a similar instance of the use of ἔκεινον in the same sentence and referring to the same subject as αὐτὸν in Romul. c. 29 *ιερὸν μὲν οὖν αὐτοῦ ἐστι κατεσκευασμένον ἐν τῷ λόφῳ τῷ Κυρίῳ προσαγορευομένῳ δι' ἔκεινον.* τοὺς ἔχθροis] sc. at Athens.

14. ὁ γραψάμενος αὐτὸν, 'his prosecutor,' 'the man who preferred the indictment against him for treason.' G. § 173, 2. Γράφομαι is properly 'I get the public authorities to write [some one's name for me,' hence 'I publicly accuse.'

15. Δεωβάτης] elsewhere it is said to have been Alkmæon himself, Arist. 25, 7.

16. Ἀγρυλῆθεν, of Agrule, a demos in the phyle Erechtheis. συνεπαιτιωμένων] Thuc. i 135 τοῦ δὲ μηδισμοῦ τοῦ Παυσανίου Λακεδαιμόνιος πρέσβεις πέμψαντες παρὰ τοὺς Ἀθηναῖος ξυνεπηγιῶντα καὶ τὸν Θεμιστοκλέα, ὡς εὑρισκού ἐν τῷ περὶ Παυσανίαν ἀλέγγχων, ἥξουν τε τοῖς αὐτοῖς κολάζεσθαι αὐτόν.

§ 2. 18. πράττων κτλ., ‘when he was carrying on those intrigues of his as is well known (δὴ), concealed them at first from Themistokles.’ Ἀποκρύπτειν τι refertur ad res extra nos positas, *occulere aliquid; ἀποκρύπτεσθαι τι contra ad id quod in nobis est, celare aliquid.* Kühner ad Xen. Mem. iii 6, 3.

20. ἐκπεπτωκότα τῆς πολιτείας, *ejectum e civitate.* Cobet says ‘imo vero τῆς πόλεως. Tralaticius in libris error natus ex πό. Paulo ante emendate scribitur 23, 1 ἐκπεσόντος τῆς πόλεως αὐτοῦ. Cf. vit. Luculli c. 43 ἔπει δὲ Κικέων ἐκπεσε τῆς πόλεως, et Sulla 10, 23 ἐκπεσεν τῆς πόλεως.’

22. τῶν πραττομένων, ‘of his intrigues.’ Πράττειν is often used by Thucydides *de clandestinis consiliis*, as i 181 πράσσων πρὸς τοὺς βαρβάρους, 132, 4 ἐπινθάνοντο καὶ ἐς τοὺς Ἐιλωτας πράσσειν τι αὐτόν (sc. Pausanias), ii 2, 3, 5, 7 πρὸς διν ἐπραξαν οἱ προδιδόντες. See below on l. 26. γρόβματα τοῦ β., ‘the king's letter,’ which is given in Thucyd. i 129.

23. ἐπιδεικύμενος, not ἐπιδεικνυς, because addressed to himself.

24. ἀς πονηροὺς, sc. δυτας. G. § 277 note 2.

25. ἀπετρίψατο, rejected, ‘declined,’ lit. ‘rubbed off himself.’

Cf. Brut. c. 17 p. 991 Η ἀποτριβομένου τὰς δεήσους, Lucull. c. 35, 2 p. 515 Υ οἱ δὲ ἀπετρίβοντο τὰς δεξιώσεις, Pomp. c. 44, p. 642 Οὐδὲλφὴ καὶ η γυνὴ χαλεπῶς ἔφερον, εἰ Πομπήον Μάγνουν ἀποτρίψεται κηδεστήν where Koraës and Schäfer wrongly read ἀποτρέψεται, Anton. c. 12 p. 921 ο καὶ πάλιν ἐπῆγε (τῷ Καίσαρι διάδημα δάφνης) καὶ πάλιν ἐκεῖνος ἀπετρίβετο, Mar. c. 40, 3 p. 429 Β τὸ μὲν οὖν πρώτον ἀπετρίβετο τὴν ἄνθρωπον, ib. c. 34, 2 p. 425 Λ Μάριος φιλοτίμος πάντας καὶ μετρακιωδῶς ἀποτριβόμενος τὸ γῆρας, i.e. *dissimilares conatus senectutem* (Leopold), Polyb. v. 42, 8

τὸν ὑπὸ τῆς τύχης διδόμενον ἀποτρίβεσθαι στέφανον, **xxv.** 1, 7 (**xxiii** 17, 7) ἀποτρίβεσθαι τὴν δοθεῖσαν αὐτοῖς ἐκπροπήν.

26. ἀπείπατο, *deprecatus est, denegavit, oblatam repudiavit,* ‘refused.’

Herod. vi 100 οὐκ ἀπείπαντο τὴν ἐπικουρήν, IV 120 τῶν ἀπειπαμένων τὴν σφετέρην συμμαχίην, IX 7, 4 οὐ κατανέσαμεν ἀλλ' ἀπειπάμεθα, Aristot. de mirab. ausec. c. 84 p. 887 αἱ τοὺς προστάτας τῶν Καρχηδονίων ἀπείπασθαι θανατῷ ἡμιοῦν τοὺς εἰς αὐτὴν (τὴν νῆσον) πλευσομένους, Plut. Alcib. 4, 4 τὴν κλῆσιν ἀπείπατο, Arat. 51, 1, Mar. c. 8, aporpth. lacon. p. 230 οἱ τοὺς μηστεύσαντας αὐτοῦ τὰς θυγατίρας ἀπειπαμένονε, de garrul. c. 19, p. 511 Εἰ μέχρις οὐ πάντες ἀπείπωνται τὴν ἀπόκρισιν, ib. p. 512 Βασιλεὺς ἀπειπήτας τὸν λόγον ὁ αἰτηθεὶς, de Socr. gen. c. 15 p. 585 Οἱ τύχης κλήρον ἀπειπαμένη, quaest. conv. I 2, c. 8, p. 616 Οἱ δυεῖν φίλων ἀπειπαμένους διεῖσται, an seni sit. ger. resp. c. 17 p. 792 Εἰ οὐκ ἀν οἷμαι σε φυγεῖν οὐδὲ ἀπειπασθα τὸ θεραπεύειν, praecl. ger. reip. c. 13, 25 p. 803 Εἰ τὴν χάριν ἀπειπαμένον, de Herod. malign. c. 88 p. 863 Οἱ ἀπειπαμένους τοὺς Ἑλληστοὺς τὴν συμμαχίαν, Polyb. hist. **xxiii** 9, 13 (p. 1100 Hultsch) δύσκε τὴν τῶν πολιών δωρεάν ἀπείπασθαι. But the middle is not admissible in correct Attic.

τρός οἰδένα τοὺς λόγους ἔτηνεγκεν, ‘revealed to no one his proposals.’ έκφέρειν=indicare, efferre, arcana vulgare, ‘to publish,’ ‘divulge a secret’; cf. Herod. VIII 132 ἔξενεικαντος τὴν ἐπιχειρησιν ἐνὸς τῶν μετεχόντων, III 71 ἔξοσει τις πρὸς τὸν Μῆδον, III 74 μηδ' ἔξοσειν μηδενὶ τὴν ἀπὸ σφεων ἀπάτην γεγονοῦν, Plut. Sertor. c. 27 p. 582 Εἰ τῶν ὄνομάτων ἔξενεχθέντων πρός τινας, Perikl. 36, 2 ἐκφέρων ἐπὶ γέλωτι τὰς οἰκοὶ διατριβὰς αὐτοῦ. Cf. Eur. Hippol. v. 295.

28. τὴν πρᾶξιν, either simply *rem gestam, factum*, ‘the transaction,’ or *prodigionis consilium* ‘his treachery,’ in which sense it is frequently used by Polybius, as II 7, 8 ἐπεχειρησαν τὴν πόλιν προδοῦναι· τῆς δὲ πρᾶξεως ταῦτης ἀποτυχόντες; 9, 2 ἐπιβουλὴ καὶ πρᾶξις ἐπὶ τὴν πόλιν, ib. IV 8, 4. Cf. note on 1. 22 above. παύσεσθαι, 80. τῆς πρᾶξεως.

29. σὺν οἰδεῖν λογισμῷ, =ἀλόγως, ‘irrationally.’

30. δρεγόμενον, ‘aspiring to strange and hazardous projects.’ This is not to be taken closely with *καταφανῆ γενήσεσθαι*, as if the meaning were ‘that his visionary and impossible projects would be disclosed by other means’ (Stewart).

30 § 3. 1. οὗτος Σῇ goes with ἐπιστολαῖ κτλ., not with θαρ-
τωθέντος. ‘So it was that,’ ‘thus it happened that.’

ἐπιστολαῖ] it is not stated whose; still more indefinitely Thuc.
ὡς εὑρισκού ἐκ τῶν περὶ Πανσανταν ἐλέγχων.

2. εἰς ὑπόψιαν ἐνθάδον, ‘cast suspicion upon.’

4. κατηγόρουν, ‘made a formal accusation.’

5. τῶν πολιτῶν] G. § 168. παρόντος] G. § 178, 2
note.

7. κατηγορίας] usually περὶ with gen. or πρὸς with acc.
is found after ἀπολογεῖσθαι.

διαβαλλόμενος γάρ, sc. ἔφη or ἔγραψεν implied in διὰ
γραμμ. ἀπόλ. ‘he wrote namely, when he was charged by his
enemies before his fellow-citizens, that he should never sell
himself and Hellas to be a slave to barbarians or enemies, in-
asmuch as (G. § 277 note 2) he always sought to rule, and was
not born to serve nor had any mind thereto.’

9. ἀρχεσθαι μὴ πεφυκάς] G. § 260, 1.

10. οὐκ ἀν ἀποδόσθαι = δτι οὐκ ἀν ἀπόδοιτο, G. § 211.

11. οὐ μὴν ἀλλά, veruntamen, ‘however’ lit. ‘they did
not, however, listen to his defence but’ etc. 3, 2; 5, 4; 29, 1.

13. ἄνδρας = τινάς. οἷς εἴρητο, ‘who had been
ordered.’ ανάγεν, captivum ducere, ‘to bring him up
as a prisoner.’

No notice is taken of this technical meaning of the word in
the lexx., not even in Hase and Dindorf's ed. of Stephen's Thesaurus.
Cf. Polyb. hist. II 8, 2 οὐκ ὀλίγους δὲ καὶ ζωγρίᾳ τῶν ἀλισκομένων ἀνήγον,
VIII 22, 7 πανταχόθεν κυκλωθεῖς ὑποχείριοι ἐγένετο τοις ἔθνοις καὶ παρεχρήμα-
τητά τῶν φίλων ἀνήγετο πρὸς τὸν Ἀντίοχον; 26, 2 τῶν δὲ φιλάκων ἐπιλα-
βομένων αὐτῶν ἀνήγετο πρὸς τὸν Ἀντίοχον, XX 11, 5, Xen. Hell. II 4, 8
Δυσίμαχος ἵκελεν τὸν ἀναγάγοντα (ποτὶ ‘a mari in urbem,’ Breitenbach)
παραδοῦναι αὐτοὺς (sc. τοὺς ἔννειλημμένους) τοῖς ἄνδραις, ib. III 3, 11 οἱ δὲ
ἀνήγον οἱ Κινάδων καὶ ἡλέγητο, Plut. Lucull. c. 12 p. 499 C ἐν δὲ τοῖς
διούσιν ἀνήγον καὶ Μάριος ὁ παρὰ Σερπερίον στρατηγός, p. 500 Φ Πομπέ-
ιος... ἀλλώ τετραμένος καὶ πρὸς τὸν Μιθριδάτην ἀνήγον, Lucull. c. 28 p. 511
Α ἀλούς κατὰ τύχην ἀνήγον πρὸς Δούκουλον, Sertor. c. 27 p. 582 Ε οἱ μὲν
ἐπὶ Πομπέιον ἀναχθέντες διεφθάρησαν, Pompe. c. 36 p. 638 C, Alex. c. 12
p. 671 Α οἱ δὲ ἀνήγον πρὸς ἀλέξανδρον ὑπὲν τῶν Θρακῶν δεδεμένη, Tib.

νεαρὸν φυλαττούσης, Eumen. c. 6 p. 586 Β μετὰ πρόσφατον νίκην, Otho c. 8 p. 1070 Β προσφάτον τῆς νίκης, Diod. Sic. III c. 48 πάσα τις ἀλλη...ἢ πρόσφατος μὲν οὖσα τοῖς δύμασι προσπνευστάτην παρέχει τέρψιν, ἐχρονισθεῖσα δὲ συντόμως γίνεται ἔξιτος, Menander Trophon. 11. 4 πρόσφατοις ἰχθυδίοις, Antiphanes Φιλοθήβαιος fr. 11 (Meineke III p. 128) προσφάτους ἰχθύς. Aristotle applies the epithet to rain, water, oil, and generally in opp. to πάλαιοις, as in Rhetoric 1, 15 p. 137 b, 27 μάρτυρες διττοί, οἱ μὲν παλαιοὶ οἱ δὲ πρόσφατοι.

31 1. βασιλικῆς, in chiastic opp. to συγγενῆ. Cf. Hom. Il. i 80:

κρείσσων γάρ βασιλεὺς ὅτε χώστεται ἀνδρὶ χέρῃ·
εἴπερ γάρ τε χόλον γε καὶ αὐτῆμαρ καταπέψυ,
ἄλλα τε καὶ μετόπισθεν ἔχει κότον, δόφρα τελέσσῃ.

φέρων ὑπέθηκεν ἔαντὸν, 'he took and put himself at his mercy.'

The participle φέρων marks a degree of determination (*sua sponte, ultra, data opera cum studio*), or urgency (*cito, propere, derepente*) emphasizing the action of the principal verbs with which it is used, 'acting on the impulse of the moment,' 'with determination': Herod. VIII 87 (of Artemisia) φέρουσα ἐνέβαλε νῆι φιλίη, Pomp. c. 27 p. 633 Β (de piratis) Πομπηῖ φέροντες ἔαντὸν μετὰ τέκνων καὶ γυναικῶν ἴνεχειρίζον, Fab. Max. c. 6 p. 177 Σ ἐμβάλλοντις αὐτοῦ τὴν δύναμιν φέροντες εἰς πάλιν Καστλιον, Aesch. c. Timarch. § 175 p. 25 ἀπαγαγών αὐτοῦ (sc. τοῦ κρίτα) ἀπὸ τῶν περὶ Τίμαρχον αἰτών ἐπέστησα φέρων ἐπὶ τὸν κατιγόρον, c. Ktesiph. § 82 p. 65, 24 εἰς τοῦτο φέρων περιέστησε τὰ πράγματα, ὥστε etc., ib. § 90 p. 68, 23 ὑπέβαλεν ἔαντὸν φέρων Θηβαίοις, § 143 p. 74, 6 τὴν δὲ κατὰ γῆν (ἡγεμονίαν) ἀρδην φέρων ἀνέθηκε Θηβαίοις, § 146 p. 74, 23 προσέμειξε φέρων τὸν κίνδυνον ἀπαρασκευφ τῇ πόλει, Plut. de educ. puer. 7 p. 4 Β διτὶ δὲ ἀν εὑρωσιν ἀνδράποδον οἰσόληπτον καὶ λίχνον, τούτῳ φέροντες ὑποβάλλοντος τὸν νιούς, Hemsterhuis ad Lucian dialog. I p. 349 points out another usage, where it is added to verbs 'ut insinuandi esse applicandique ad aliquem et commendandi speciem praeferatur,' Perikl. c. 7 οὐτῷ δὲ φέρων δὲ Περικλῆς τῷ δῆμῳ προσένεμεν ἔαντόν, Max. Tyr. diss. XXXI p. 315 καὶ τῶν φέροντες ἔαντὸν ἐπιτρέψομεν; 'frequenter autem ad eos pertinet, qui in doctorum se fidem ac disciplinam tradunt, e.g. Eunap. de Porphyrio p. 14 προσίθετο φέρων ἔαντὸν Plotino; p. 49 Λαδεσίου ἐπέδωκεν ἔαντὸν φέρων τῇ χειρὶ τῶν ὁδῶν.'

2. τούτῳ τινὶ καὶ παρηλλαγμένον τρόπον, 'in a peculiar and strange sort of manner.' G. § 160.

On τούτοις see 18, 4.

παρηλλαγμένος is properly 'changed,' 'altered,' as in Polyb. hist. VII 17, 7 παρηλλαγμένον τῆς στηθείας, hence 'extraordinary,' ib. 17

55, 1 τὸ συμβαῖνον ἔδιόν ἦν καὶ παρηλλαγμένον, IV 38, 12 τῶν ἔχοντων παρηλλαγμάτων τι καὶ διαφέρουν τόπων, II 20, 1 ξένην καὶ παρηλλαγμάτην ἐπιφύλεσαι, VIII 32, 5 πλήρης ἡ πόλις κρανῆς ἐγένετο καὶ ταραχῆς παρηλλαγμάτης, I 79, 4 παρηλλαγμάτης ἐπινοῦντες τιμωρίας, Diod. Sic. III c. 46 παρηλλαγμάτων ἐκ τῶν ἀρίστων μέγα, III a. 8 παρηλλαγμάτων εἴθεσι χρώνται, XVII c. 90 παρηλλαγμάτους τοὺς μεγάθεσιν δόμει.

3. τὸν υἱὸν] *filiam parvulam*, Nepos.

4. μεγίστην ἱκεσίαν, 'the most solemn form of supplication' predicate to *ταύτη*: Thuc. I. 6. μέγιστον ἦν ἱκέτευμα τοῦτο.

5. ἀναντίρρητον, 'not to be refused,' Polyb. hist. XXVIII 11, 4 πὰν τὸ ὑπὸ τῶν Ῥωμαίων παραγγελθὲν ἀναντίρρητον γέγονεν.

§ 3. 6. ἕνοι] as Thucydides.

7. ὑποθέσθαι τὸ ἱκέτευμα τοῦτο, 'suggested this posture.' Cf. Herod. I 90 ὑπερήδητο ὡς ἐδόκεε εὖ ὑποτίθεσθαι, 156, vi 134, v 92, 98, vii 237, VIII 97, Aristoph. Ekk. 1154 σμικρὸν δ' ὑποθέσθαι τοὺς κριτᾶσι βούλομαι.

10. ὡς ἀφοσιώσατο, 'in order that he might plead religious scruples for declining to give him up.'

11. οὐκ ἐκδιδώσοι] transition to direct discourse: otherwise we should have had οὐκ ἐκδιδοῖη.

12. διαθένει, 'arranged' the scene. συντραγθῆσαι = συμμηχανήσασθαι, συνυποκρίνασθαι, ἀπὸ μεταφορᾶς τῶν ὑποκρινομένων τραγῳδῶν (*Koraës*) 'played a leading part together with him in this solemn pathetic scene.'

13. ἐκεῖ, sc. δυτὶ 'while he was there,' or perhaps for ἐκεῖστε=eo, 'thither,' as in Herod. VII 147 ἐκεῖ πλέομεν, Soph. O. C. 1019 ὁδοῦ κατάρχειν τῆς ἐκεῖ, Thuc. III 71 τοὺς ἐκεῖ καταπεφευγότας.

14. Ἀχαρνεῖς, 'of the deme Acharnae' which was the largest in Attica, in the phyle Οἰνῆς, situated not far from,

the foot of Mt Parnes : the inhabitants of this deme gave their name to one of Aristophanes' most famous plays 'The Acharnians.'

15. δι τούτη, 'for this,' 'because of this,' 2, 6; 7, 3.

κρίνεις, 'bringing him to trial,' 'accusing.' C. Caes. c. 4 p. 708 γ Δολέβελλας ἔκριτε κακόστεις ἐπαρχίας, vit. dec. or. III 19 προδοσίας κρίνονται Τιμόθεος, Dem. de f. l. p. 413, 25 τοῦτον οὐκ ἔκρινεν (ἐπαρχίας) Λισχίης, Lykurg. c. Leokr. § 113 τὸν πειρων κρίνειν προδοσία. Μαράτσων] 6, 2; 23, 1.

16. Στρατόβορος] 2, 3; 4, 4. οὐκ οἶδ̄ δῆμος, nescio quomodo (n. to Cic. de off. I § 146 l. 5), 'singularly enough.'

18. παῖς, 'representing.'

19. Ἰέρων] Hiero, despot of Syracuse from B.C. 476 to B.C. 467 in succession to his brother Gelo, was a liberal patron of men of letters, and his court was the resort of the most famous poets and philosophers of his day, as Aeschylus, Bacchylides, Simonides, and Pindar, by whom his victories at Olympia and Delphi have been immortalised. He obtained a great victory over the Etruscan fleet near Cumae in B.C. 474.

21. ἀγράκοντας] G. § 166 note. ἀντριφαμένον] 23, 2.

22. οὖτε, 'under these circumstances,' 25, 2.

CHAPTER XXV.

§ 1. 24. ἐν τοῖς περὶ βασιλείας, 'in his treatise (writings) on monarchy.'

26. ἵππους δγενεστέδε, 'racehorses.'

27. σκηνήν] 5, 2.

28. ἐν τοῖς Ἑλλησι] 23, 3 l. 14.

29. τοῦ τυράννου contains the reason of his advice.

30. Θεοκαρκίδης] I 137: *kai* introduces a third argument.

1. ἑτέραν])(the Ionic, the sea on the other side of **32** Greece, viz. the Aegean, Thuc. I. c. § 1.

2. διπδ Πύδνης] to be taken with πλεῦσαι. Pydna was on the coast of Pieria in the Thermaic gulf. δστις ἐη] G. § 243. τῶν πλεύγων] to be taken with οὐδενὸς, G. § 168.

4. Νάξον—πολιορκουμένην] Νάξος, the largest island of the Kyklades, lies about half-way between Greece and Asia Minor. It was conquered in B.C. 490 by the Persians, but recovered its independence after the battle of Salamis, when it became a member of the confederacy of Delos: but in B.C. 471 it revolted and was subdued by the Athenians (πρώτη αὕτη τόδις ξύμμαχος παρὰ τῷ καθεστηκός ἔδουλάθη Thuc. I 98).

5. δναδεῖξεν ξαυτὸν, 'revealed himself.' τῷ ναυκλήρῳ, 'the owner of the vessel,' the shipmaster who generally acted as skipper.

§ 2. **6.** τὸ μὲν—τὸ δὲ, 'partly—partly.' G. § 143 n. 1.

7. κατηγορήσου] G. § 243. In direct discourse it would be κατηγορήσει.

8. χρήμασι πεισθέντες] from Thucyd. I. c. εἰ μὴ σώσει αὐτὸν, ἔφη ἐρεῖν διτὶ χρήμασι πεισθεὶς αὐτὸν ἀγει.

10. δναλάδβοιεν, 'had received, entertained him from the first,' not 'were carrying him out of the country' (Stewart).

οῦτως] 24, 3. ἀναγκάστει is coupled to ἀναδεῖξειν. παραπλεῦσαι, *praetervehi* 'to sail past,' 'to hold on their course,' Perikl. c. 19 p. 163 δ παραπλεύσας τὸν Ἀχελῶον, Lys. c. 18 p. 440 δ παρέπλει σχολαῖς, Pomp. c. 74 p. 658 δ παραπλεύσας ἐφ' Ἀμφιπόλεως, Cic. c. 47 p. 885 Λ πλοῖον εὑρών ἐνέβη καὶ παρέπλευσεν ἀχρὶ Κίρκαλου, Plato Phaedr. c. 41 p. 259 Λ παραπλέοντας σφᾶς ὥσπερ Σειρῆνας ἀκηλήτους, Philostr. p. 717 τὴν νῆσον τὴν Ὦγυγίαν παραπλεῖν κελεύει καὶ μὴ προσορμίζεσθαι τοῖς μύθοις. In o. 9, 1 it has its ordinary signification of 'sailing along,' 'coasting.'

11. λαβέσθαι τῆς Ἀσίας, ‘to lay hold of,’ i.e. ‘reach, gain the shore of Asia,’ G. § 171, 1. A meaning ignored in LS. Cf. Cic. c. 31 p. 876 γ διὰ Δευκανίας ἐπορεύετο λαβέσθαι Σικανίας βουλόμενος, Thucyd. VIII 80, 2 αἱ τῶν Πελοποννησίων νῆσοι ἀπέρασσι εἰς τὸ πελάγος—...χλευασθεῖσαι καὶ αἱ μὲν Δήλου λαβόμεναι, III 24, 2 λαβόμενοι τῷ δρόῳ διαφεύγονταν εἰς τὰς Ἀθήνας, 106, 2 λαβόμενοι τοῦ Θυάμου δρόου ἔχωρουν δι’ αὐτοῦ. The compound ἀντιλαβέσθαι is also used in the same sense as III 22, 8 πρὶν διαφύγοιεν καὶ τοῦ ἀσφαλοῦς ἀντιλαβοιντο, cf. IV 128 ἀντιλαβεῖτο τῶν μετεώρων, VII 60, 2; 77, 6.

12. ὑπεκλατέντα, *clam et furtim subrepta*, ‘stealthily and secretly conveyed away.’ Thuc. I 137, 3 ἡλθε γὰρ αὐτῷ ὕστερον ἐκ τε Ἀθηνῶν παρὰ τῶν φίλων καὶ ἐξ Ἀργούς ἀ ὑπεξέκειτο.

13. ἔπλει] used of things, as in Thuc. III 114, 1 τὰ τῶν Ἀθηναίων (σκύλα) πλέοντα (in navigatione) ἔλαω. So ἔπλεῖν and ἔσπλεῖν are used of imports and exports, e.g. in Thuc. II 93, 4, III 51, 2, IV 27, 1, VIII 90, 6, Dem. adv. Lept. § 31 p. 466. τῶν φανερῶν γενομένων, ‘of that which was brought to light.’ Φανερὰ οὐσία is often used of ‘real property’ (ἀφωνής, ‘personal’: v. LS. s. v.)

14. τὸ δημόσιον, ‘the public treasury.’ συναχθέντων δι τὸ δημόσιον, ‘confiscated.’ Θεόπομπος] probably from his treatise περὶ δημαγωγῶν.

15. ἑκατὸν τάλαντα = about £24,375, the talent of money being worth about £243 15s. Cf. Aelian var. hist. x 17 λέγει Κριτίας Θεομιστοκλέα τὸν Νεοκλέους, πρὶν ἡ ἀρξασθαι πολιτεύεσθαι, τριὰ τάλαντα ἔχειν τὴν οὐσίαν τὴν πατρόφαν. Ἐπειδὴ δὲ τῶν κοινῶν προέστη, εἴτα ἔφυγε καὶ ἐδημεύθη αὐτοῦ ἡ οὐσία, κατεφωρᾶθη ἑκατὸν ταλάντων πλείω οὐσίαν ἔχων. Θεόφραστος] Theophrastus, the celebrated philosopher, born at Eresus in Lesbos, succeeded Aristotle as president of the Lyceum at Athens. His chief works are the ‘Characters’ and the ‘History of Plants.’

16. τὸ πλῆθος, ‘in their amount,’ G. § 160, 1; Thuc. I 9 πλήθει χορημάτων, III 70, 4 διὰ τὸ πλῆθος τῆς ζημίας, Plato de

Rep. VIII p. 551 οἱ ταξάμενοι πληθος χρημάτων, p. 591 εἰ διὰ πληθος οὐσιας ηδὶ δλιγόνητα. οὐδὲ τριῶν, 'not so much as three.' Such is the statement of Critias also ap. Aelian l. c. In the comparison between Aristeides and Cato Plutarch states it as 3 or 5 (*πέντε γὰρ η τριῶν ταλάντων οὐσιαν αὐτῷ γενέσθαι λέγουσιν, στέ πρώτον ἡπτέτο τῆς πολιτείας*). 'The poverty of Aristeides,' says Grote, 'at the end of his life presents an impressive contrast to the enrichment of his rival.' And so does that of Pericles, see Plut. Per. 15, 4.

17. ἀπτεσθαι τῆς πολιτείας] 3, 1.

CHAPTER XXVI

§ 1. 19. κατέπλευσεν, *appulit*, 'landed.' **Κύμην**] according to Strabo XIII 3, 6, p. 622, Kyme, called also Phrikonis because founded by a colony of Phokians from Mt Phri-
cius, was the largest and noblest of the cities in Aeolis (*μεγίστη τῶν Αἰολικῶν καὶ ἀριστηρά Κύμη καὶ σχεδὸν μητρόπολις αὕτη τε καὶ η Δέσβος τῶν διλλων πόλεων περὶ τριάκοντά του τὸν αριθμὸν*): it stood on a bay named after it (*Cumaeus also Elaiticus sinus*), opposite the southern coast of Lesbos. It was the birthplace of Ephorus the historian and of Hesiod's father, and the mother city of Cumae in Campania. It has some historical associations with the Ionian revolt, when it joined Aristagoras, but was soon recovered by the Persians, Herod. v 38, 123. The remnant of Xerxes' fleet which escaped from Salamis wintered there, VIII 130. Thucydides l. c. says that he landed at Ephesus, which was much nearer to Naxos.

20. τῶν ἐπὶ θαλάσσῃ, 'of the inhabitants of the coast.' *παραφυλάττοντας, observantes ut insidiatores, eius opprimendi occasionem captantes*, 'watching for him, lying in wait, on the look out for him,' G. § 279, 2. Fab. Max. c. 8, 2 καὶ ποτε παραφυλάξας τὸν Ἀννίβαν τὸ πολὺ τῆς στρατιᾶς ἐπὶ σιγολογίαν ἀφεικότα, Eumen. c. 13, 6 αἰσθόμενος δ' ὁ Εὐμένης αὐτὸν παραφυλάττοντας ἀνελεῖν εἰ γένοιτο καιρός (which passage is

a sufficient answer to Cobet's objection to λαβεῖν), Xen. de Rep. Lak. iv 4 παραφυλάττουσιν ἀλλήλους, έάν τι παρὰ τὰ κακὰ φαδιουργῶσι, Polyb. hist. i 36, 9 παρεφύλαττον τὸν ἐπίπλουν τῶν ὑπεναντίων, vii 3, 9 παρεφύλαττον ὡς πολέμιον, Timoleon c. 19, 2 p. 245 ε δεδίθτες τὰς τριήρεις αἱ παρεφύλαττον αὐτούς. The middle is also sometimes found in this sense as in Timol. c. 7, 4 and freq. in Polybius.

21. λαβεῖν] G. § 265. Cobet considers the word a gloss, but see n. 1. 20. τοὺς περὶ Ἐργοτελῆ, i.q. Ἐργοτελῆ, see n. to 7, 3. Cf. Artox. c. 18 οἱ περὶ Δεινῶντα καὶ Ξενοφῶντα λέγονται.

23. τοῖς τὸ κερδαλνεῖν ἀπὸ παντὸς ἀγαπῶσι, 'to those who are contented with making gain by any means,' whether honourable or dishonourable. Cf. Soph. Antig. 312 οὐκ ἔξ ἀπαντος δεῖ τὸ κερδαλνεῖν φίλειν. The accusative of the thing after ἀγαπᾶν is much less common than the dative: cf. Demosth. Philipp. II § 12 p. 70 τὸ λυσιτελοῦν ἀγαπήσοντας, Isocr. Panegyr. § 140 p. 69 ν ὥστε τοὺς ἀφεστῶτας μηκέτι τὴν ἐλευθερίαν ἀγαπᾶν ἀλλ' ἥδη καὶ τῶν ὅμορων ἤητεν ἐπάρχειν, Plat. Euthydem. § 81 p. 306 ο πάντα γὰρ ἀνδρα χρὴ ἀγαπᾶν, i.e. nam unoquoque viro contentum esse oportet, de rep. III c. 10 p. 399 ε τὰ ἀποβαίνοντα ἀγαπῶντα, i.e. in iis, quae eveniunt, acquiescentem. In Thuc. vi 18 some mss have ὑπερδόντες καὶ οὐκ ἀγαπήσαντες τὴν ἐν τῷ παρόντι ἡσυχίᾳν, but in the best mss and Edd. the words καὶ οὐκ ἀγ. are omitted.

24. ἐπικεκηρυγμένων αὐτῷ, 'having been offered for his head,' 29, 1 l. 25. 'Επικηρύττειν τῷ or ἐπὶ τῷ is caput alicuius proposita pecunia proscribere, pecuniam publice per praeconem praemii loco illis constituere qui proscriptam obtruncant. Cf. Herod. vii 213 καὶ οἱ φυγόντι ὑπὸ τῶν Πυλαγόρων ἀργύριον ἐπεκηρύχθη, 214 οἱ Πυλαγόροι ἐπεκήρυξαν ἀργύριον ἐπὶ Ἐπιάλτη τῷ Τρηχαίῳ, Dem. de fals. I. § 21 p. 347 διὰ ταῦτα χρήματα' ἔαντῷ τοὺς Θηβαίους ἐπικεκηρυχέναι, Diod. Sic. XIII c. 6 τῷ ἀνελόντι Διαγόραν ἀργυρίου τάλαντον ἐπεκήρυξαν, ib. XIV 8, Appian bell. civ. v 113 χρήματα τῷ κτεναντι καὶ ἐλευθερίᾳ ἐπεκεκηρύχεσαν. More fully in Lys. c. Andoc. § 18 p. 104 ἐπικηρύττοντες τάλαντον ἀργυρίου τῷ ἀπά-

γοντι. The words *ἐπανειπεῖν* (Thuc. vi 60) and *ἐπαναγορεῖσθαι* (Arist. Av. 1072) are used in a similar sense.

26. *Alyds]* There were three towns named Aegae in Europe, viz. in Achaia, Emathia and Euboea, and two in Asia, one on the coast of Cilicia and the other in Aeolis near Kyme, Herod. i 149, Xenoph. Hell. iv 8, 5.

27. *ξένος*, 'guest-friend.' According to Diod. Sic. xi 56 whose account otherwise tallies with that of Plutarch, his name was Lysitheides : *ἐτύγχανε φίλος ὁ Ξέρκους τοῦ βασιλέως καὶ κατὰ τὴν διάβασιν τοῦ Ξέρκους τὴν δύναμιν τῷ Περσῶν ἄπασαν εἰστιακώς διέπερ συνήθεια μὲν ἔχων πρὸς τὸν βασιλέα, τὸν δὲ Θεμιστοκλέα διὰ τὸν Ἐλεον σῶσαι βουλδηνος ἐπηγγείλατο αὐτῷ πάντα συμπρᾶξαι.* *Αἰολέων]* G. § 168.

28. *τοῖς ἀνω*, 'those up country,' 'of the interior.'

29. *ὑπῆρχε]* 1, 1. *παρὰ τούτῳ]* 5, 2.

30. *ἐκ θυσίας*, 'after and in consequence of a sacrifice,' which was accompanied by a feast.

2. *παιδαγωγὸς]* 12. 2. *ἴκφρων]* said of religious and **33** prophetic frenzy, Plato Ion p. 534 in *ἔνθεός τε...καὶ ἔκφρων.* *Θεοφόρητος*, 'inspired,' 'possessed,' 'god-rapt.' Aesch. Agam. 1067 *φρενομανής τις εἰ θεοφόρητος*, Plut. de ad. et am. c. 10 p. 54 σ ἀν ἐκείνος (ἥ) δευτιδαμών, (*φησὶν αὐτὸν εἶναι*) *θεοφόρητον*, Sull. c. 27 p. 469 in *φησὶν οἰκέτην Ποντίου θεοφόρητον ἐντυχεῖν αὐτῷ λέγοντα παρὰ τῆς Ἐνυδρῆς κράτος πολέμου καὶ νίκηρ ἀπαγγέλλειν.*

3. . *ἀνεφώνησεν*, 'lift up his voice and cried.'

4. *νυκτὶ κτλ.]* the verse is a trochaic tetrameter catalectic. The sentiment often recurs, e.g. in Menander *ἐν νυκτὶ βουλῇ τοῖς σοφοῖσι γίγνεται.* So here : 'commit everything to night, voice, counsel, victory,' i.e. believe everything night tells thee, it speaks (by dreams), gives thee counsel and victory. Cf. the story told about Peisistratos by Herodotus i 62.

§ 2. 5. *ὅναρ*, 'in a dream,') (*ὕπαρ*, G. § 160, 2. Cf. Pomp. 73, 6 *ἐπιστὰς οὖν Πετίκιος εὐθὺς ἔγνω τὸν Πομπήϊον οἶον*

ὅταρ εἶδε, Philop. c. 18 οὐδ' ὅταρ ἀν ποτε παθεῖ...ταῦτα προσδοκήσαντος.

6. ἔδοξεν Ιθεν, *sibi visus est videre*, ‘fancied that he saw.’

Cf. Pyrrh. 11, 2 ἔδοξε κατὰ τὸν ὑπνούς ὥπ' Ἀλεξάνδρου καλεῖσθαι, Arist. 11, 6 Ἀριμηστος ἔδοξε κατὰ τὸν ὑπνοὺς ἐπερωτώμενον αὐτὸν εἰπεῖν, where we have an instance of the accusative with the infinitive though the subject of the whole clause is one and the same. The Rule is that (1) where the subject of δοκεῖ and its dependent clause is not the same, either δοκεῖ, ἔδοξε, etc. are joined with the nominative of the vision they dreamt and the dative of the dreamer, or (2) the nominative of the dreamer followed by the accusative with the infinitive. Thus (1) Xen. Anab. III 4, 11 ἔδοξεν αὐτῷ βροτῆς γενομένης σκηπτὸς πεσεῖν εἰς τὴν πατρῶαν οἰσίαν (and then with a change of construction to) (2) καὶ ἐκ τούτου λάμπεσθαν πᾶσαν, Herod. III 30, 4 ἔδοξε οἱ ἄγγελον...ἄγγελλειν, (2) Demetr. 29, 1 Δημήτριος ἔδοξε κατὰ τὸν ὑπνούς Ἀλέξανδρον ὠπισμένον λαμπρῶς ἐφωτάν, Pomp. 68, 2 ἔδοξε κατὰ τὸν ὑπνούς Πομπᾶος εἰς τὸ θεατρὸν εἰσιώντος αὐτοῦ κροτεῖν τὸν δῆμον, Sull. 9, 2, Pyrrh. 29, 1, Cleom. 7, 3, Arist. 19, 1, Demetr. 19, 2, Cic. 44, 2.

κατὰ τῆς γαστρὸς περιελιπτόμενον, ‘coiling itself down upon his belly.’ Cf. 9, 1 κατὰ τῶν λίθων.

7. προσανέρποντα, ‘creeping up towards.’

8. ως ἦφατο κτλ., ‘as soon as it had reached his face, it became an eagle and spreading its wings about him (not ‘flapped its wings’ Stewart, cf. Hom. Il. xi 454 οἰωνοι...περὶ πτερὰ πυκνὰ βαλόντες) lifted him from off the earth and carried him a long way.’ The metamorphosis of the serpent into an eagle foreboded a sudden change in the critical position of Themistokles. The eagle was the field-badge of the king (Xen. Cyr. vii 1, 4, Anab. i 10, 12), the herald’s wand represented peace and security.

10. πολλὴν δεδὸν] G. § 161. κηρυκέον, *caducei*, ‘a herald’s wand’ with two serpents wound about it. Schol. in Thucyd. i 53 ἐστι ξύλον δρθὸν ἔχον ἐκατέρωθεν δύο ὄφεις περιπετλεγμένους καὶ ἀντιπροσώπους πρὸς ἀλλήλους.

11. στήσατ, ‘set him.’

12. δ’ οὖν, resumptive, *ut ut haec sunt*, ‘be that as it may,’ ‘anyhow,’ ‘however,’ ‘whether that story be true or

not,' 27, 1, Arat. 27, 1; 30, 1, Sol. 2, 1; 16, 3, Cic. 35, 5, Pyrrh. 13, 1, Poplic. 7, 1, Perikl. 27, 1; 35, 4. Cf. Stallbaum on Plato de rep. i c. 5 p. 330 ε, iv. c. 14 p. 440 Α, v c. 18 p. 473 c.

14. βαρβαρικῶν, i.e. non-Hellenic, G. § 168.

15. τὸ Περσικὸν, sc. γένος. ds, 'in respect of,' 2, 2.

16. ἄγριον καὶ χαλεπόν, 'harsh and cruel.' Cf. Hom. Odysss. I 198 χαλεπόλ δέ μιν ἄνδρες ἔχουσιν, ἄγριοι, VIII 575 ἡμὲν δοτοί χαλεποί τε καὶ ἄγριοι οὐδὲ δίκαιοι, οἱ τε φιλόξεινοι.

§ 3. 17. ἀργυρωνήτους, *mancipia argento parata* (Liv. xli 6), 'bond-women,' lit. 'those bought with money.' Greek slaves were either δοριάλωτοι (*captivi*) or ὥνητοι or οἰκετριβεῖς (*vernae*). The second class increased in proportion as the first became rare: they would naturally be treated with less consideration than those born in the house. Cf. Isokr. Platae. § 18 p. 300 οὐδὲν ἡττον τῶν ἀργυρωνήτων δουλεύουσι, Panegyr. § 123 p. 66 C τοῖς σώμασι δεωτέρα πάσχουσι τῶν παρ' ἡμῶν ἀργυρωνήτων, Eur. Alk. 676 Δυδὺν η Φρύγα...ἀργυρώνητον στέθεν, Herod. IV 72 ἀργυρώνητοι δὲ οὖν εἰσι θεράποντες, Demosth. (?) πρὸς Ἀλεξ. συνθ. § 3 p. 212 οὐδούλευειν ἀντὶ τῶν ἀργυρωνήτων, Diod. Sic. I c. 70 περὶ τὴν θεραπείαν αὐτῶν οὐδεὶς ἢν οὕτ' ἀργυρώνητος οὕτ' οἰκογενῆς (*verna*) δοῦλος.

18. παλλακενομένας, 'concubines.' ισχυρῶς, *diligenter, vehementer*, 'carefully,' 'exceedingly.' Xen. Anab. vi 3, 11 τούτους ἐφύλαττεν ισχυρῶς, Cyp. I 4, 14 λυπούμενον ισχυρῶς, VIII 4, 15 ισχυρῶς ὠφελοῦσι, Hell. V 1, 29 ισχυρῶς ἐτεθύμουν τῆς εἰρήνης. It is also joined with adjectives, see p. on Cic. de off. § 65 l. 29, and even with substantives e.g. Xen. Apol. Socr. § 28 ἐπιθυμητῆς ισχυρῶς αὐτοῦ. παραφυλάττουσιν, 'keep a close watch over,' 26, 1.

19. ὡς] 5, 4. τῶν ἔκτος, *extraneorum*, 'strangers' (members of the family. Plato de legg. I p. 629 δ ϕ πρὸς τοὺς ἔκτος τε καὶ δλοφίλους χράμεθα διαφερόμενοι, Plutarch coniug. praec. 31 p. 142 δ τὴν φωνὴν αἰδεῖσθαι καὶ φυλάττεσθαι πρὸς τοὺς ἔκτος, de gen. Socr. 24 p. 593 c, Fab. Max. c. 1,

p. 174 σ τὸ εἴκολον αὐτοῦ πρὸς τοὺς συνήθεις νωθρότητος ὑπόνοιαν ἔσχε πρὸς τοὺς ἐκτός, Dion c. 19 p. 965 ή διαφοραὶ λαυθά-
νουσαι τοὺς ἐκτός, and frequently in Polybius.

20. διαιτᾶσθαι, *habitare, vivere, ‘live,’* Thuc. II 14, 1 ἐν
τοῖς ἀγροῖς διαιτᾶσθαι, 52, 1 ἐν καλύβαις πνιγηραῖς διαιτωμέ-
των, VII 87, 2 οὕτω διηγήθησαν ἄθροι.

21. σκηναῖς, ‘tented covers,’ ‘tilts’ or ‘awnings.’ Xen.
Cyr. VI 4, 11 ἀπήγαγον αὐτὴν εἰς τὴν ἀρμάμαξαν καὶ κατακλί-
ναντες κατεκάλυψαν τὴν σκηνὴν which Julius Pollux 10, 52 ex-
plains as τὸ ἐστεγασμένον μέρος τῆς ἀμάξης. Xerxes, we are
told by Herod. VII 41, used on his expedition besides his war-
chariot (ἄρμα) also an ἀρμάμαξα. His words are μετεβαίνεσκε
δὲ, δκως μν λόγος αἱρέοι, ἐκ τοῦ ἄρματος εἰς ἀρμάμαξαν. The
use of these comfortable caravans (*arabas*) is ridiculed by Ari-
stophanes Ach. 69 where the ambassadors from Persia talk of
travelling ἐσκηνημέναι, ἐφ' ἀρμαμάξῶν μαλθακῶν κατακείμεναι;
Aeschylus Pers. 100 calls them σκηναὶ τροχήλατοι. Rich *Comp.
to Lat. Dict.* etc. says that no authentic representation of one
remains. κύκλῳ περιπεφραγμένας, ‘with curtains drawn
all round them.’ Cf. Diod. Sic. XI 56 ἀπήνην πολυτέλεσι παρα-
πετάσμασι κεκοσμημένην,

23. καταδὺς, ‘lying hid,’ ‘buried.’ Cf. Plato de rep. IX
c. 5 p. 579 B of a despot καταδεδυκὼς ἐν τῇ οἰκλῃ τὰ πολλὰ ὡς
γυνὴ ξῆ, Sophist. p. 239 C εἰς ἀπόρον τόπον καταδεδυκεν, Polyb.
hist. XV 30, 3 οἱ δὲ κατεδύοντο διαδιράσκοντες εἰς ἀνυπονοή-
τους οἰκλας καὶ τόπους, Diphilus ap. Athenae. II p. 67 οἱ δειπνεῖ
δὲ καταδὺς which Casaubon interprets *in gurgustiolo suo
abditus.*

24. δὲ τοῖς ἐντυγχάνουσι, ‘from time to time to those
who met them and asked questions.’

25. γύναιον, *mulierculam*, ‘a poor woman,’ though not a
diminutive but adjectival form, used in a contemptuous sense:
Pyrrh. c. 2, 1 ἐφεγον οἰκέτας δλγούς καὶ γύναια τιθηνούμενα τὸ
παιδίον ἐφελκόμενοι, ib. 13, 3 τὸ γύναιον (sc. τὴν αἰλητρίδα)
αὐλεῖν κάκεινον ἄδειν ἐκέλευον, Demosth. c. Aristog. I § 57

p. 787, 25 γυναιού τράγμ' ἐποιει, Andok. de myst. § 130 p. 17 παρὰ τοῖς παιδαρίοις καὶ τοῖς γυναιοῖς κλήθων ἐν ἀπάσῃ τῇ πόλει κάτεσχεν.

26. [Iωνίας] To a Persian that would mean the whole west coast of Greece. πρὸς τινα τῶν ἐπὶ θύραις β., 'to one of the royal courtiers.' From the Eastern custom of receiving petitions at the gate, *al βασιλέως θύραι* became an ordinary phrase = 'the Sublime Porte.' Cf. Theopompus Philipp. xviii fr. 135 (Müller fragm. hist. p. 801): Νικβοτρατος δότοε μέλλοι δειπνεῖν, τράπεζαν παρετίθεε χωρὶς διομάζων τῷ δαίμονι τοῦ βασιλέως ἐμπλήσας σίτου καὶ τῶν ἄλλων ἐπιτηδείων... ἀκούων τοῦτο ποιεῖν καὶ τῶν Περαῶν τοὺς περὶ τὰς θύρας διατρίβοντας, Xen. Anab. I 9, 3 πάντες οἱ τῶν ἀριστών Περσῶν παῖδες ἐπὶ τὰς βασιλέως θύραις ('at court') παιδεύονται, II 1, 8 λόντας ἐπὶ τὰς βασιλέως θύρας, Herod. III 119, Xen. Hell. I 6, 7 ἀχθεσθεὶς τὰς ἐπὶ τὰς θύρας φοιτήσεσιν.

CHAPTER XXVII

§ 1. 28. Θουκυδίδης] I 137 ἔσπειρτε γράμματα πρὸς Ἀρταξέρξην τὸν Ξέρξου νεωστὶ βασιλεύοντα, i.e. Artaxerxes I, surnamed μαχρόχειρ, *longimanus*, the Ahasuerus of Scripture, who was king from B.C. 465 to B.C. 425. Χάρων] Charon, a native of Lampsakus, a Milesian colony, in Mysia, on the coast of the Hellespont (29, 4 l. 8), was one of the early Greek chroniclers, born about B.C. 502. He continued the researches of Hecataeus into eastern ethnography and wrote (as was the custom of these old historians) separate works upon different countries as Persia (Περσικὰ), Libya (Αιθιοπικὰ or Λιβυκὰ), and one in four books called ὥραι Δακεδαιμονίων 'annals of Sparta,' and another entitled φροι Δαμψάκηρῶν or 'annals of Lampsakus.' See C. Müller fr. *histor. gr. praeſ.* p. xvi—p. xx.

29. Ιστοροῦσι] I, 3 l. 4 note. πρὸς τὸν νίδον—ἔντευξιν, 'that it was his son between whom and Themistokles the interview took place.'

34 1. "Εφόρος] Ephorus was born at Kyme (26, 1, Strabo lib. XIII c. 3 § 6) between B.C. 388 and B.C. 378.

Ephorus and Theopompus were pupils of Isocrates in the school he had at that time opened at Chios (Plut. Mor. p. 837 B). Their tempers were so diverse (Ephorus being τὸ ήθος ἀπλούς τὴν δὲ ἐμμηνίαν τῆς ἴστορίας ὑπτίος καὶ νιθρός καὶ μηδεμίαν ἔχων ἐπίτασιν, Theopompos on the other hand τὸ ήθος πικρὸς καὶ κακοήθης, τῇ δὲ φράσει πολὺς καὶ συνεχῆς καὶ φορές μεστός, φλαλήθης δὲ ἐν οἴες ἔγραψεν) that their master said one required a curb, the other a whip (τὸν μὲν ἐφ' χαλίνου δεῖσθαι τὸν δὲ "Εφόρον κάντρον Suidas, dicitur Isocrates se calcaribus in Ephoro, contra autem in Theopompo frenis uti soleat Cic. de orat. III § 36).

His most celebrated work was a general history of Greece in 30 books from the return of the Herakleidae to the siege of Perinthus in B.C. 340 (Diodor. Sic. IV 1, XVI 26), each book forming a complete whole by itself, the last being completed by his son Demophilus (Diod. XVI 14). Polybius, who frequently refers to him, speaks of him as the first who attempted an universal history τὸν πρώτον καὶ μόνον ἐπιβεβημένον τὰ καθόλου γράφειν (v 33, 2), and reckons him among οἱ λογώτατοι τῶν ἀρχαίων συγγραφέων (VI 45, 1). It seems from his account of it to have been full of curious and antiquarian research (IX 1, 4). The same author (XII 26 f.) criticizes him for his ignorance of the mode of warfare by land, while he admits his knowledge of maritime warfare. He expresses his admiration of him in the following terms: δὲ γὰρ "Εφόρος παρ' ὅλην τὴν πραγμάτειαν θαυμάσιος ὡν καὶ κατὰ τὴν φράσιν καὶ κατὰ τὸν χειρισμὸν ('treatment of his subject') καὶ κατὰ τὴν ἐπίνοιαν τῶν λημμάτων δεινότατός εἰσιν ἐν ταῖς παρεκβάσεσι καὶ ταῖς αὖτοῦ γνωμολογίασι καὶ συλλογίβδην ὅταν πον τὸν ἐπιμετροῦντα λόγον ('his concluding observations') διατεθῆται. Although an honest and painstaking writer, he cannot be regarded as a trustworthy and safe guide in the study of history, since even in the later periods, where he had such guides as Thucydides, Herodotus, Xenophon, he differs from them in points on which they were entitled to credit. His style, as might have been expected from his rhetorical training, was clear and lucid but highly coloured and artificial, and at the same time diffuse and wanting in energy. Donaldson *Hist. Lit. Greece* Vol. II. p. 374 ff., Mahaffy *Hist. class. Grk. lit.* Vol. II. p. 433 f., C. Muller *frag. hist. gr.* pp. lvii—lxv, and pp. 234—277, A. Bauer *Themistokles* pp. 88—128.

2. Δείνων] Deinon, father of Kleitarchus, the historian of Alexander's ἀνάβασις, wrote a history of Persia, which Nepos (Conon c. 5) refers to as the most trustworthy authority on the subject. He is quoted by Plutarch elsewhere, as in Artox. cc. 6, 9, 10, 18, 22, Alex. c. 36. Κλείταρχος] son of the former (Plin. H. N. x 49) accompanied Alexander the

Great in his expedition to the East and wrote a history of it, which appears to have been of little value (Cic. de leg. i 2, 7).

[*Ηρακλεῖδης*] There are four historians named Herakleides, one of Kyme, the author of a history of Persia (*Περσικά*) in five books; another, a native of Egypt who lived in the reign of Ptolemy Philopator, author of a great work entitled *Ιστορία*, and of a book called *Δευθεντικὸς λόγος* from which he was nicknamed ὁ Δέμος, a third of Odessus in Thrace, a fourth of Magnesia, author of *Μιθριδατικά*.

Ἴτι δ' ἄλλοι πλεονες, 'several others also beside them.'

4. τοῖς χρονικοῖς—συμφέρεσθαι, 'to agree with the dates, although these have not either been thoroughly settled beyond dispute.'

6. ἀτρεμα, *firmiter, vere, immote, indubitanter, exclusa omni trepidatione*, 'immoveably': in 29, 1 it means 'softly.' δ' οὖν] 26, 2 l. 13.

7. γενόμενος παρ' αὐτῷ τὸ δεινόν, 'when he was to come to the actual danger,' 'in the critical moment of his affairs.' Cf. Soph. Oed. R. 1169 πρὸς αὐτῷ γέ εἰμι τῷ δεινῷ λέγεων. On the use of *παρὰ* cf. Dem. c. Mid. § 59 b παρ' αὐτὰ τάδικήματα δργίλως ἔχοντες ἐφανεσθε, the phrase *παρὰ τοὺς κινδύνους in ipsis periculis* 8, 1 l. 24, and *παραχρῆμα* for *παρὰ τὸ χρῆμα*.

8. ἐντυγχάνει, *convenit*, 'applies to,' 'interviews.' Aelian var. hist. i. 21 ἐβούλετο αὐτῷς ὑπὲρ ὅν ηκεν ἐντυχεῖν τῷ Πέρσῃ.

9. τῷ χλιαρχῷ, 'the visir,' the chief officer of the Persian and later of the Macedonian court, (Diod. Sic. xviii c. 48), whose office it was τὰς ἀγγελίας εἰσκομίζειν τῷ βασιλεῖ καὶ τοὺς δεομένους εἰσάγειν, hence called *εἰσαγωγεύς*. Nepos has the same story about Konon (c. 3) evidently borrowed from this:—Conon *primum more Persarum ad chiliarchum, qui secundum gradum imperii tenebat, Tithraustem, accessit seque ostendit cum rege colloqui volle: nemo enim sine hoc admittitur.*

'According to Thukydides the exile does not seem to have been exposed to the least danger in Persia. He presented himself as a deserter from Greece, and was accepted as such: moreover—what is more

strange, though it seems true—he was received as an actual benefactor of the king, and a sufferer from the Greeks on account of such dispositions—in consequence of his communications made to Xerxes respecting the intended retreat of the Greeks from Salamis and the contemplated destruction of the Hellespontine bridge. He was conducted to Susa, where he addressed a letter to the king couched in the following terms, such as probably no European king would tolerate except from a quaker: 'I, Themistoklēs, am come to thee having done to thy house more mischief than any other Greek, as long as I was compelled in my own defence to resist the attack of thy father—but having also done him yet greater good, when I could do so with safety to myself, and when his retreat was endangered. Reward is yet owing to me for my past service: moreover, I am now here, chased away by the Greeks in consequence of my attachment to thee, but able still to serve thee with great effect. I wish to wait a year, and then to come before thee in person to explain my views (βούλομαι δ' ἐναντὸν ἐπισχών αὐτός σοι περὶ ωὐγκῶ δηλώσαι (i. 137, 4).'⁴ GROTE, *hist. of. Greece*, vol. V.

11. πρὸς ἄ—σπουδάζων, 'in which he (the king) is especially interested.' Dem. c. Androt. § 76 p. 617, 10 πρὸς χρημάτων κτῆσιν οὐδὲ πάποτε ὁ δῆμος ἐσπούδασεν, c. Aristocr. § 12 p. 624, 16 ἐσπούδακότες πρὸς ὑμᾶς (*qui vobis studuerunt*). Generally used with *περὶ τι* or *των*, or with *εἰς τι*, or *ἐπὶ τινι*, or else with the simple dative.

§ 2. 12. Διαφέρουσιν=οὐχ οἱ αὐτοὶ εἰσιν 'are not the same;' hence ἀλλα δέ. See n. to 11, 2.

13. ἀλλα δ' ἄλλοις κτλ., 'but some hold one thing honourable, others another (each community has its own standard of propriety): yet it is proper for all to honour and uphold the customs of their country.'

14. κοσμεῖν, *colere*.

15. λόγος, sc. ἔστι, 'there is a report.'

17. προσκυνεῖν, *flexis genibus et prostrato corpore humili* νερεῖν, 'to prostrate oneself before, 'make obeisance to.' ως εἰκόνα, sc. δυτα, G. § 277 note 2.

18. τοῦ το πάντα σώζοντος, 'the preserver of all things.' ἐπαινῶν, 'approving,' 'accommodating yourself to our customs.'

19. ἔστι, 'it is possible,' G. § 28 note 1.

20. εἰ δὲλλο τι φρονεῖς, 'if you are otherwise minded.'

21. διγγῆλοις, 'you will have to employ others (not me) to communicate with him,' G. § 137 note 4.

22. οὐ πάτριον, sc. ἔστι, 'it is not in accordance with ancient custom.' Cf. Arist. *Ekkl.* 778 οὐ γὰρ πάτριον τοῦτο ἔστιν, Dem. de cor. § 203 οὐκ ἦν ταῦθ', ως ξουκε, τοὺς τότε Αθηναῖοις πάτρια οὐδέ ἀνεκτά, Aesch. c. Ktesiph. § 20 οὐκ ἀραι στεφανωθῆσεται ἡ βουλὴ; οὐδὲ γὰρ πάτριόν ἔστιν αὐτοῖς, Thucyd. i 123, 1 πάτριον ὑμῖν ἐκ τῶν πάνων τὰς ἀρετὰς κτᾶσθαι, iv 92, 2. μηδ προσκυνήσαντος, = ἐάν μη προσκυνήσῃ, G. § 226, 1. Cf. Aelian var. hist. i 21: νόμος ἔστιν ἐπιχώριος Πέρσαις, τὸν ἐς δόθαλμούς ἐλθόντα βασιλέως μηδ πρότερον λόγου μεταλαγχάνειν πρὶν ἡ προσκυνήσαι αὐτὸν, where a story is told of Ismenias of Thebes, that he would not condescend to observe the customary obeisance, but made a pretence of doing so by dropping his ring and stooping to pick it up, when in the presence of the Shah.

24. φήμην, 'reputation, 'glory.'

25. αὐξήσων] G. § 277, 3. πείσομαι] This compliance is in obedience to the deity who has exalted the Persians and placed him in their power. The Spartan deputies Sperthias and Balis refused (*ἀνεμαχέσαντο*) to fall down and worship the king according to the story told by Herodotus vii 136.

27. τῶν νῦν, sc. προσκυνούντων.

28. ὅστε, *itaque*, 'accordingly,' 'and so.' μηδὲν, adv. 'not at all.'

§ 3. SO. τίνα δ' Ἑλλήνων] predicative.

1. φῶμεν] G. § 256. Ιδιότητα (σοφῷ, as is shown 35 by the expression τὴν γνώμην. Ιδιότης is the 'ordinary man' in contradistinction to one who is distinguished by the possession of some professional acquirement, as that of soldier, orator, physician, athlete, or by his office. τὴν γνέμην] G. § 160, 1.

2. σύντι, non ius, no further than what has been told you.

3. πρότερος βασιλίως] G. § 175, 1, note 1.

4. θυσίας] 1, 2; 7, 4; 13, 2.

'Ερετρίκης]

Eratosthenes of Cyrene was born B.C. 276, and flourished in the reigns of the third, fourth and fifth Ptolemies.

He is said to have been summoned by Ptolemy Evergetes from Athens to Alexandria, where he succeeded Kallimachos, as he was himself succeeded by the poet Apollonius Rhodius, as head of the famous library. He was the 'admirable' Crichton of ancient learning; and used to be called the second Plato, and was the first honoured with the name of 'philologer'; and certainly no one except Aristotle could compare with him in the compass and accuracy of his learning (Bernhardy *Eratosthenica Berol.* 1822 pp. XIII f). The two sciences of astronomical geography and chronology were founded by him, as also the historical criticism of the primitive Greek history. He was also an observer, a collector of facts, an inductive philosopher, but his reputation rests chiefly on his discoveries, as his literary labours are represented by only a few fragments. Besides geographical and mathematical treatises he wrote an astronomical poem *Hermes*, a treatise on the old comedy in twelve books, and another on moral philosophy (*επι δυσκώ και κακία*), of which that 'on riches and poverty' (*επι πλεονεκτίαι και νεκτίαι*) to which Plutarch here refers, may have been a part. The most important of his purely literary works were the chronographies. The great achievement of his three books of *γεωργικά* was the discovery of a correct method of determining the magnitude of the earth.

5. ἐν τοῖς] 25, 1, note.

προσωπόρησε, 'narrates besides.'

6. 'Ερετρίκης, of Eretria in Euboea, 11, 4.

ἥν—έλχε, *quacum consuevit, quam habuit*, 'with whom the visit lived.' Cf. Ter. Andr. 'dic sodes, quis heri Chrysidem habuit?' Thuc. vi 54, 2, Xen. de rep. Lac. i § 7, § 8, Cyrop. i 6, 4.

8. σύντασιν, 'introduction.' Polyb. hist. iii 78, 2 διὰ τὸ πρόσφατον τῆς πρὸς αὐτὸς συστάσεως. συντάσσει is common in the sense of *commendare*, 'to introduce,' e.g. Plato p. 127 Λ ὅτῳ δὲ βούλη συστήσομέν σε, 123 Λ εἰκ-

έθελει με ούδεν συστήσαι, Xenoph. Anab. III 1, 8 Ξενοφῶν συνεστάθη τῷ Κύρῳ, Plut. Pyrrh. 5, 4 τὸν ἀρχιοικοχόον τῷ Γέλωνι συνέστησεν.

CHAPTER XXVIII

§ 1. ο. δ' οὖν] 27, 1, note. The speech of Themistokles is the same in substance with the letter given in Thucydides, see above.

11. τίς ἔστι] G. § 243.

12. ἥκω σοι, says more than the ἥκω παρὰ σε of Thucydides.

13. καλύσαντι] G. § 277, 2.

14. τὴν δίλεξιν] c. 16. ἐν δεσφαλεῖ γεγενημένης, 'having been placed in a state of security.'

17. παρέσχε, 'gave me the opportunity.' τὰ οἰκεῖα σωζόμενα, 'the affairs of my own country being safe' (*σωζόμενα=σᾶ δῆτα*), 'the immunity of my own country from danger.' χαρίσασθαι τι καὶ ὑμῖν, 'to do you also a favour,' i.e. as I had done my country.

18. ἄμοι μὲν οὖν] 'as far then as concerns myself,' 'with respect to myself then.' The dative belongs to the whole sentence, G. § 184, 5. πάντα—συμφορᾶς, 'anything suits my present fallen fortunes,' i.e. in my present position I am prepared for the worst. Cf. Soph. Aiac. 534 πρέπον γέ ταῦ ήν δαίμονος τούμοι τόδε, i.e. 'that would have been in character with my destiny.'

20. χάριν, 'thanks' for my services. εὐμενῶς, 'graciously,' to be taken with διαλλαγμένου, Perikl. 39, 1.

§ 2. 21. παραιτέσθαι, *deprecari*, 'to avert by entreaty.'

22. μάρτυρας Θέμενος, 'taking as witnesses of the services I have rendered the Persians.' διωκόμενος ὑπὸ τῶν Ἑλλήνων

διὰ τὴν σὴν φίλαν Thucyd. Cf. Eur. Supplie. 261 Δήμητρα θέμεναι μάρτυρ ἡλίου τε φῶς. δῆν εὑργέτησα=τούτων ἀενεργέτησα, G. § 153.

23. ἀπόχρησαι, ‘make full use of.’

Ἀποχρῶμαι means (1) *multum et libere utor, totum in usum meum consumto*, Thuc. I 68, 4, VI 17, 1, VII 42, 5, Plutarch. Cat. c. 5 p. 388 Φ τοῖς οἰκέταις ὡς ὑποζηγίοις ἀποχρησάμενον ἐπὶ γῆρας ἐλαύνειν, Alexand. c. 71 p. 704 Β ὑβριν ἔφασαν εἶναι ἀνθρώπους ἀποχρησάμενον εἰς ἄπαντα νῦν ἀποτίθεσθαι οὐν αἰσχύνη, C. Caes. c. 58 p. 738 Α ἐνέτικτον κανῆς ἔρωτα δέξης ὡς ἀποκέχρημένη τὸ παρόντη, Polyb. XVII 15, 9 χρώνται τοῖς προδόταις οἱ στρατηγοὶ διὰ τὸ συμφέρον ὅπα γε μὴν ἀποχρήσωται (‘when they have made what use they can of them’), χρώνται λοιπὸν ὡς προδόταις.—(2) *abutor*, ‘to misuse or to use for some other object than the pretended one,’ 4, 2, Timol. c. 16 πρὸς κάλλιστον ἔργον ἀπεχρήσαντο τῷ σχολῇ, Aphorith. 17 p. 178C συνεβούλευεν (Φίλιππος τῷ νιγρῷ) τῶν ἐν ταῖς πόλεσι δινατάτων καὶ τοὺς ἀγαθὸν φίλους κτᾶσθαι καὶ τοὺς πονηρούς, εἴτα οὖς μὲν χρῆσθαι, οἷς δὲ ἀποχρῆσθαι, Aem. Paul. c. 86 p. 274 Β ἰκανῶς ἴμοι καὶ τοῖς ἴμοΐς κακοῖς εἰς τὴν τῶν κατωρθωμάνων ἀποκέχρηται νέμεσιν.

24. ἀποπλήρωσιν, ‘satisfying, glutting.’ Plut. de san. praece. 18 p. 132 Α οὐ δεῖ χρῆσθαι κρεωφαγίαις πρὸς ἀποπλήρωσιν ὁρέξεως, ὥσπερ λύκους ἢ λέοντας, adv. Kol. c. 30 p. 1185 Α.

25. τάσσεις μὲν κτλ. ‘in saving my life, you will be saving one who throws himself at your feet as an humble suppliant (and therefore it is your duty to help him); in putting me to death you will get rid of an enemy to Greece.’

27. ἤπειρασε τῷ λόγῳ, orationi divinum ostentum subiunxit, ‘he brought forward supernatural signs in support of his words.’

Cf. Plut. Cam. c. 18 p. 137 Α τῶν ἱερέων οἱ καλούμενοι Φηγιαλεῖς ἐνῆγον ἐπιθειάζοντες, religionem animis obicientes, deos invocantes tamquam testes s. ultores. So in Thucyd. VIII 53, 2 the Scholiast explains ἐπιθειάζοντων μὴ κατέγεν by θεᾶ τινα ἐπιβοωμάνων—*sacrosanctis obtestationibus deprecantes eius restitutionem*. Cf. de gen. Socr. c. 9 p. 579 Φ οἱ δὲ, ὡς θεοφιλέστιν εἶναι εἰλούσι, ἐπιθειάζονται τὰς πράξεις (i.e. divinitatem quamdam eius actionibus affingunt) διεύρατα καὶ φάσματα προστάμενοι τῶν ἐπὶ νοῦν ἴόντων, Cam. c. 30 p. 144 Β ὑπομιμησκούσι τόπων ἀγίων οὐν ‘Ρωμύλος ἢ Νομᾶς ἐπιθειάσας παρέβωκεν. It is also used by Plutarch in the sense of ‘inspiring,’ de gen. Soc. c. 10 p. 580 D αὐτῷ συννοθέγγετο τὸ δαιμόνιον ἐπιθειάσον τὰς ἀντὸν προαιρόστους, ib. c. 20 p. 589 D οἱ ταῦλοι καταδαρθοῦσιν οἰονται τὸ δαιμόνιον ἐπιθειάζειν.

προσδιελθών, 'going through besides.' Cf. de Isid. c. 30 p. 362 Ε νῦν δὲ τὰ λοιπὰ τῆς ἐν χεροὶ δόξης προσδιέλθωμεν.

28. ἐν Νικογένειος, sc. οἰκίᾳ 'in Nicogenes' house, 26. 1, Madvig Gr. Synt. § 47 Rem. 2, Plat. Protag. p. 320 Λ ἐν Αρίφρονος ἐπαίδευεν, Theact. p. 206 Α ἐν κιθαριστοῦ μεμαθηκέναι, Charm. p. 155 Δ οὐκέτ' ἐν ἐμαυτοῦ, Xen. Mem. III 18, 3 ἐν Ἀσκληπίου sc. νεψ, Plut. quaest. conv. vi 7 p. 686 Δ τῶν παρατιθέντων ἐν Καλλίου καλ Ἀγάθωρος ὅψιν. μάντευμα] not mentioned elsewhere.

29. Δωδωναῖον Διός, 'Zeus of Dodona,' or Zeus Νδῖος 'aqueous,' according to the special attribute by which he was known in conjunction with Dione.

The vexed question about the site of the ancient temple has been finally set at rest by the discovery of a number of inscriptions recording dedications to these deities, which has verified the prediction of the venerable Bishop of Lincoln made some forty-five years since that it would be found at Dramisus, a place about seven miles from Iannina (*Greece, Pictorial, descriptive and hist.* p. 247 ed. 1, p. 324 ed. 2). These inscriptions were published in the splendid volume of Constantin Caraponos in 1878 entitled *Dodone et ses ruines*, which contains besides a list of an immense quantity of relics and works of art brought to light in the course of the excavations.

Mr E. S. Roberts, Fellow of Caius College, Cambridge, gives an interesting detailed account of the oracle inscriptions in the *Journal of Hellenic Studies*, Vol. I p. 228, April 1881: they are engraved more or less legibly upon one or both sides of thin leaden plates (*sortes* Cic. de div. I § 76), which contain the questions addressed or prayers offered to the deity by his votaries, whether individuals or communities, the consultant being in every case required to put his question or prayer into writing. 'The examination' of them, he says, 'has established a new proof of the considerable part which the consultation of the oracle played in the public and private life of the ancient Greek. In circumstances of importance or embarrassment he had recourse to the omniscient deity, and sought from him the means of succeeding in an enterprise or grappling with a difficulty in much the same way as we now consult a lawyer or a physician. The inscriptions which we possess range over a long period of time, from perhaps the fifth century B.C. to the date of the final destruction of the temple in B.C. 88 or even later.'

30. τοῦ θεοῦ, sc. Διός. 'Ομώνυμος is here used as a subst., cf. Plato Sophist. p. 218 Β τὸν Σωκράτεος δημώνυμον,

Protag. p. 311 Β παρὰ τὸν σαυτὸν διώνυμον ἐλθόν, Theaet. p. 147 ο τῷ σῷ διώνυμῳ Σωκράτει.

80. συμφρονήσαι, *auguraretur, coniceret*, ‘guessed,’ or *re perpensa cogitaret*, ‘came to the conclusion that.’

The verb *συμφρονεῖν* has two meanings, (1) *consentire, idem sentire*, ‘to be of one mind, to assent to,’ hence *conspirare* ‘to agree together,’ e.g. Public. c. 23 p. 109 Κ αἱ γυναῖκες ἴδιῃ τῷδε εὐτάξαι συμφρονήσασαι διεπίθησαν ἐνιαυτὸν δἰορ., Cat. c. 16 p. 345 Δ συμφρονήσαντες καὶ παρασκευάσαντες ἐπάλη κατῆγον κτλ., Philop. c. 21 p. 368 Β συμφρονήσαντες ὀδέξαντο. Marc. c. 44 p. 432 Α ἡσαν οι περὶ Βίβλων καὶ Ζερπώρων συμφρονήσαντες ἐπέθεντο κοινωμάνους αὐτοῖς, de mulier. virt. p. 243 Β ἀλλὰ δὲ τούτου συμφρονήσασαι κατέφλεξαν τὰ πλοῖα, Alex. c. 11 p. 670 Σ Θηβαίους ἀφεστάναι πυθόμενος καὶ συμφρονεῖν αὐτοῖς ἀθηναίους; or (2), as it is commonly employed by Plutarch, *deliberata*, ‘to reflect,’ ‘consider well,’ (1) *absol.* as in *de gen.* Socr. c. 24 p. 593 Ο τῶν θεῶν αὐτῶν διαλεγούμενον συνιέντας καὶ συμφρονοῦντας, Demetr. c. 49 p. 913 Δ μεταβαλέσθαι παρακαλῶν ἥδη ποτε συμφρονήσαντας, de mul. virt. 9 p. 248 Σ τὸν δὲ συμφρονήσαντα (*causa malii intellecta*) διακόψαι τοῦ κρημνοῦ τὸ λειτότατον, quæst. Rom. 5 p. 265 Α τὸν οὖν Ἀριστίνον συμφρονήσαντα (*oraculo proδοὺς intellecto*) παρασχεῖν ἔαντὸν τὰς γυναικίν ἀπολύσαι, Demetr. c. 8 p. 892 Ο δύψε συμφρονήσαντες ἐβοήθουν οι στρατηγοί, Sam. c. 29 p. 144 Α ταχὺ δὲ συμφρονήσας ὁ Βρένος ἀπήγαγε τοὺς Κέλτους, Pyrrh. c. 11 p. 389 Β ἐτυχεῖν ἀφρημένους τὸ κράνος, ἄχρι οὗ πάλιν συμφρονήσας καὶ πειθόμενος ἀγνῶσθη τὸ λόφον διαπρέποντο, Alex. c. 9 p. 669 Β οὕτω δὴ συμφρονήσας ὁ Φίλιππος κατήγαγε τὸν Ἀλέξανδρον, c. 71 p. 704 Β τέλος δὲ συμφρονήσαντες ἀβδύζουν ἀνηπολι, c. 73 p. 705 Δ πολὺν χρόνον ἀναδος ἦν, μόλις δὲ σωφρονήσας Διονύσιος ἔφη καλεῖσθαι. (2) followed by an objective accusative; Nic. c. 19 p. 536 ὥστε τὸν Νικίαν συμφρονοῦντα τὴν τῶν πραγμάτων μεταβολὴν ἀδυνατίην, Euph. c. 9 p. 588 Β τοῦ δὲ Μενάδρου ταχὺ συμφρονήσαντος τὸν κίνδυνον, Aem. Paul. c. 33 p. 273 Β οὐ πάντα συμφρονοῦντα τῶν κακῶν τὸ μέγεθος διὰ τὴν ἡλικίαν, Sertor. c. 28 p. 582 Α εἴτε δυσχεράνων τὴν ἀκούσιμαν εἴτε τὴν διάνοιαν αὐτῶν συμφρονήσας, Brut. c. 10 p. 988 Σ ταῦτα συμφρονήσας (‘when he had thus reflected’) ἐνέτυχε Βρούτῳ, Sam. c. 38 p. 148 Σ δὴ συμφρονήσας μετήγαγεν ἔξω πύλης τὸ δικαστήριον, Sestor. c. 18 p. 577 Β δὴ δύὲ μάλα συμφρονήσας κτλ., ἐπιχειρεῖν μὲν οὐκ ἀθάρρει κύκλωσιν δεδοικώς. (3) by a participle, G. § 280, Nic. c. 23 p. 593 Σ τοῦ ἡλίου τὴν ἀπισκόπησαν ἀμωμόγεπος ἥδη συνεφρόνουν (‘perceived’) καὶ οἱ πολλοὶ γενομένην ὑπὸ τῆς σελήνης... πῶς αἰφνίδιον ἐκ πανσελήνου τὸ φῶς ἀπόλλυσιν, οὐ ἥψιδον η καταλαβεῖν. (4) with a relative clause: Alex. c. 60 p. 699 Α οὕτω δὴ συμφρονήσαντα τὸν Πῶρον, οἵτε αὐτὸς εἴη διαβερθκώς Ἀλέξανδρος, ἀπίειν, C. Marc. c. 18 p. 222 Δ συμφρονήσαντες... οἵτε ἀνεψιοί τὸν πολλούν τῶν πατρικῶν οὐκ ἔστιν ἐκαγαγαντεῖν τὸν Μάρκους ἐπεισαν αὐτοὺς κτλ., Lys. c. 21 p. 445 Δ συμφρονήσατες οἵτε ταῖς

τούτων γενομένων συμφρονήσας διν τρόπον αὐτοῖς ἀστὶ πολεμητάς, VII
τερρ. conv. p. 180 Β συμφρονήσας ὡς ὅντις εἴη, de gen. Socr. 22 p. 590
Β οὐ μάλα συμφρονῶν ἐπαργῶς εἴτ' ἀγρήγορεν εἴτ' ἀνειροπόλει.

1. εἶναι τε καὶ λέγεσθαι] the interpretation suits the 36 reality as well as the name.

§ 3. 8. Θαυμάσας] Thuc. i 188 βασιλεὺς δέ, ὡς λέγεται,
ἔθαυμασεν αὐτῷ τὴν δύναμιν. τὸ φρόνημα, 'his high spirit,' Thuc. i 81, 2, ii 43, 3; 62, 5, iv 80, 2, vi 18, 4; Nep. Them. 10 *huius rex animi magnitudinem admirans.*

4. μακαρίσας ἁντρὸν, *sibi ipse gratulatus*, 'congratulating himself,' 'pronouncing himself fortunate.'

5. ὡς ἐν εὐτυχίᾳ, 'on the ground of what he thought a piece of good luck.' Madvig, Synt. § 73, 2. κατενέμα-
νος, *precatus*, not *imprecatus*, medio sensu. Cf. quaest. Rom. 52 p. 277 Λ διὰ τι κατενέμονται μηδένα χρηστὸν ἀποβῆναι τῶν οἰκογενῶν;

7. τὸν Ἀριμάνιον] Angramainius (Ahriman), the Persian god, who was the author or personification of evil in opp. to Ὁρομάσδης (Ahuramazda, Ormazd) the author or personification of good. See Rawlinson's Essay on the Persian religion in his translation of Herodotus Vol. i p. 426 ff.

9. Σιδέρισσων τῶν ὑπνων, 'in the middle of his sleep,' G. § 142, 8. Cf. Plato de rep. i p. 380 Λ ἐκ τῶν ὑπνων ἔγειρόμενος, Soph. 266 Β τὰ ἐν τοῦς ὑπνοῖς φαντάσματα, Plut. Pyrrh. 11, 2, Arist. 11, 6 κατὰ τοὺς ὑπνους.

CHAPTER XXIX

§ 1. 13. μηδὲν] 9, 2. ἢς ὡν ἕόρα, 'from what he saw, viz. that' etc. G. § 153 note 1.

14. τοὺς ἐπὶ θύραις ἤγγεις, 'the people who stood near him at the palace gates,' by which he passed.

15. παριόντος, 'as he came forward' (Blass): the common reading is παρόντος.

12. ἀποτελολμηκός, 'having had the rashness,' rather more forcible than the simple τετολμηκός.

§ 3. οὐδὲ γαρ] further reason for their dislike of him. Cf. Thucyd. I. c. ἀφικόμενος παρ' αὐτὸν γίγνεται παρ' αὐτῷ μέγας καὶ δσος οὐδεὶς τῷ Ἑλλήνων διά τε τὴν τροῦπάρχουσαν ἀξίωσιν καὶ τοῦ Ἑλληνικοῦ ἀπίδια τῷ ὑπετίθει αὐτῷ δουλώσεις μάλιστα ὃ ἀπὸ τοῦ πέραν διδοὺς ξυνετός φανερούθαι.

13. κυνηγεσίων, from κυνηγέσιος, *venatio*, 'a hunt;' Isocr. Areop. § 45 p. 148 εἰ περ τὰ—κυνηγέσια διατρίβει, Xen. Cyn. 3, 11 τοῦς ἐπιθυμοῦντας κυνηγεσίων, 1, 1 τῆς ἐπιμελεῖας τῆς τῶν κυνῶν καὶ κυνηγεσίων, II 2 ἐλθεῖν ἐπὶ τῷ ἐπιτήδευμα τῷ τῶν κυνηγεσίων, Plut. Alex. c. 4 ἐν ταῖς στρατείαις καὶ τούς κυνηγεσίοις. The form κυνηγεσία is not used by Xenophon or Plutarch. Hunting was a very favourite amusement with the Persian kings, and preparations were often made for it on a large scale, see e.g. Xen. Cyr. I 4, 14 ff.

14. τῶν οἰκοῦ διατριβῶν, 'his domestic life,' 'private occupations and amusements.' See n. to 2, 3.

15. θιακοῦσαι] 2, 3. τῶν μαγικῶν λόγων, 'the doctrines of the Magians.' The ancient and venerable Magian religion was the worship of the elements, in which there were no temples, images or emblems, but only fire-altars on the high mountains for sacrifice. (Herod. I 181, Strabo xv § 59 p. 1089, Diog. Laert. Prooem. §§ 6—9). This was not the original religion of the Persians, whose most ancient belief was pure dualism. Rawlinson's *Herod.* Vol. I Essay v p. 426 ff.

17. τοῦ βασιλέως κελεύσαντος] G. § 183. ἔπειδεν] proof of Themistokles' influence with the King. Demaratus was king of Sparta from about B.C. 510—B.C. 491, when Kleomenes, his colleague, obtained his deposition by bribing the Delphic oracle. He thereupon went to the Persian court where he was favourably received by Darius. He accompanied Xerxes in his expedition to Greece, where he performed the part of the unheeded counsellor, Herod. vi 61—70, vii 101—
105, 209, 284—5.

19. τὴν κίταριν ἐπαιρόμενος, = δρθῆ τὴν κιτάρει οι τιάρᾳ 'wearing his tiara upright, like the kings do.' *Κίταρις* is another form of *κιδαρις*, used elsewhere by Plutarch, e.g. Artox. c. 28 p. 1026 κ ώς οὐδὲν δινήσιν ἡ κίταρις ἐστῶσα περὶ τὴν κεφαλὴν τοὺς ὑψούς αὐτῶν μῆτη γηγοῦντας δρθοῦσθαι τοῖς πράγμασι. Pomp. c. 42 p. 641 οἱ τὴν δὲ κίταριν (Mithridatis) Γάϊος ὁ τοῦ Μιθριδάτου σύντροφος ἔδωκε κρύφα δεηθέντι Φαντρῷ τῷ Σόλλα παιδὶ θαυμαστῆς οὖσας ἐργαστας, Philo π. 155 A, id. ib. p. 152, 29 κιδάρει γάρ οἱ τῶν ἔψιν βασιλεῖς ἀντὶ διαδήματος εἰώθασι χρῆσθαι. The royal bonnet, worn by the kings of Persia, Armenia and Parthia had a tall stiff and straight crown, encircled by a blue diadem ornamented with white spots (Quint. Curt. iii 3.) A. Rich's *Comp. to Lat. Dict.* p. 158^b, who gives an illustration of it from a Syrian medal representing Tigranes king of Armenia.

20. δεσλάσαι ήτι Σάρδεων, 'to drive into and through Sardis.'

21. Μιθροκανστῆς μὲν κτλ. answers to διπωσαμένου δὲ τοῦ βασιλέως l. 24.

22. τῆς τιάρας, i. q. κιτάρεως, G. § 171, 1. αὗτη μὲν κτλ.] more a parallelism than opposition. 'The tiara would want brains under it, and outward marks of distinction do not alone make the king.'

23. δν ἐπικαλάψα, *quod tegat.*

24. δν, = ἐάν, ἢν.

§ 4. διπωσαμένου, 'giving him a repulse.'

25. δργῇ, adverbially, 'in a passion,' Herod. iii 35, 1 114.

26. δοκοῦντος διπαραιτήτως ἔχαν πρὸς αὐτὸν, 'being thought to be inexorably angry with him,' 'when it was thought he would never forgive him;' 2, 6, Polyb. xxii 14, 15 (xxi 31, 15 Hultsch) πρὸς ἐκείνους ἔχειν διπαραιτήτως, ἐλεεύ δὲ τοὺς πόλλοις.

27. δηθεὶς κτλ., 'by his intercessions prevailed on the king and reconciled him to the offender.'

28. τοὺς ὑστερον] G. § 141 n. 3. ἐφ' ὧν—ἀνεκρά-
θησαν, 'in whose time Persian politics were more mixed up
with those of Greece.' Galb. c. 1 p. 1053 σ νομίζων φύσεως
γενναλας...δεῖσθαι μάλιστα τῷ πράψ καὶ φίλανθρώπῳ τὸ θυμοειδὲς
καὶ δραστήριον ἐμμελῶς ἀνακεραννυμένης. The time meant
is that subsequent to the Peloponnesian war, when the Per-
sians so often entered into relations with the individual states
of Greece.

29. δσάκις δεηθεῖν] G. § 233.

38 1. ὡς ἔσοιτο] G. § 203 n. 3, § 217 and § 248 n.

2. παρ' αὐτῷ, *apud se*, 'at his court.'

4. λαμπρᾶς τραπέζης παρατεθεῖσης, 'when a magnificent
banquet had been served to him.' For τράπεξ= *cibi mensae*
appositi, cf. Herod. i 162 τὸν Ἀστυνόμης ἀνόμῳ τραπέζῃ ἐδασε,
Eur. Alc. 2 θῆσσαν τράπεζαν αἰνέσαι.

5. ἀπωλόμεθ' ἀν., εἰ μὴ ἀπωλόμεθα, = *el* ἐσωξόμεσθα, G.
§ 222: 'we should have been badly off, had we not been
ruined.' He meant that exile had proved their salvation.
Blass compares Demochares' saying about the demagogue
Stratokles: *μανύοιτο μεντᾶν*, *el* μὴ *μανύοιτο* (*vit. Demetr.* c. 24
p. 900 A), i.e. because his gross flattery, amounting to mad-
ness, was a source of gain to him. The story is repeated by
Plutarch in his *de Alex. virt.* c. 5 p. 828 r, *de exil.* c. 7 p. 602 A.

7. οἱ πλεῖστοι] as Thucydides i 138, 6 δόντες βασιλέως
αὐτῷ Μαγνησίαν μὲν ἄρτον, ἢ προσέφερε πεντήκοντα τάλαντα του
ἐνιαυτοῦ, Λάρηφακον δὲ οίνον (ἐδόκει γάρ πολυοινότατον τῶν τότε
εἶναι), Μυούντα δὲ δύον. It was the custom of the Persian
kings to assign the revenues of towns as pin-money for their
queens (Xen. Anab. i 4, 9; Plato Alcibiad. i c. 40 p. 123 c).
That is, in each case the rent which was always paid to the
absolute monarchs of the East, as an acknowledgment that the
property of all the soil was theirs and which amounted gene-
rally to $\frac{1}{10}$ th of the produce, was given up to them by the king.

8. δέψον] bread and wine being regarded as the main sup-
ports of human life, any extra articles of food e.g. meat, fish or

vegetables were included under the common name of δψος, Xen. Oecon. v. 8 (ἢ γῆ) δψα πολλὰ τὰ μὲν φύει τὰ δὲ τρέφει. In later writers it was applied particularly to fish, and so Diodorus (11, 57) understands it here, for he observes that Myus was chosen to provide δψος, because it had near it θάλασσαν εὖχθυν.

Μαγνησίαν] Magnesia ad Maeandrum, as it was called to distinguish it from the town in Lydia, stood on the Lethaeus and was surrounded by a plain of extraordinary fertility. Originally an Aeolian city, founded by Magnesians from Europe, it was destroyed in b.c. 726 and was reoccupied by the Milesians: it was the residence of Themistokles and is celebrated as possessing a beautiful temple of Artemis Leukophryene, the ruins of which are found at *Inek-bazar*.

Λάμψακον] Lampsakus was one of the most famous Greek settlements on the Hellespont. It lay near the mouth of the Propontis, nearly opp. to Kallipolis (*Gallipoli*) on the Thracian coast; it was named Pityusa before the Milesians settled there. During the Ionian revolt it fell into the hands of the Persians (Herod. v 117). After the battle of Mykale in b.c. 479 it sided with Athens, but revolted after the failure of the Sicilian expedition; being, however, unfortified it was easily retaken by Strombichides. Several distinguished men were born there, Charon the historian (27, 1), Anaximenes the orator, and Metrodorus, the disciple of Epicurus. It was the chief seat of the worship of Priapus, hence called by Vergil (Georg. iv 111) *Helleponiacus*.

9. Μυοῦντα] Myus was the smallest among the twelve Ionian cities. It was situated in Karia on the southern bank, about four miles from the mouth, of the Maeander. In the days of the geographer Strabo the population was so reduced that they abandoned their town and became incorporated with Miletus.

10. Νεάθης] 1, 2 l. 10. **Περκάτην]** Percote (*Bergaz*) was a town on the Hellespont, between Abydos and Lampsakus.

11. Παλασκέψις] Palaskepsis was the chief town in the interior of Mysia. In subsequent times Skepsis was

the seat of a school of philosophy: and it was here that the library of Aristotle was burned in a pit after the death of Neleus, who inherited it from Theophrastus. *εἰς στρωματήν καὶ διποχόνην*, ‘to supply bedding and clothing.’

CHAPTER XXX

§ 1. 12. *πρὸς τὰς Ἑλληνικὰς πρᾶξας*, ‘on some business connected with Greece,’ undertaken for the king, 29, 4.

14. *τῆς δύνας Φρυγίας*, i.e. *τῆς μεγάλης Φρυγίας* (τῆς παρ' Ἑλλήσποντον), ‘inland’ or Phrygia Maior, as it was named, to distinguish it from Phrygia Minor in Mysia on the Hellespont; it formed the central plateau of Asia Minor westward of the river Halys (Herod. v 52), comprising the upper valley of the Maeander.

15. *παρεγκενακῶς*, Cato mai. c. 15 διώκουσιν ἐτέροις συνηγόντας καὶ παρεσκεύασεν (*subornavit*) διώκοντας.

ἴκταλατ=έκ παλαιοῦ, iam dudum, ‘for a long time back.’

Phrynicus (ed. Lobeck p. 46) says *ἴκταλατ*, *ἴκπάλατ*, *άμφοις δυσχέραινε*. *ἐκ παλαιοῦ γάρ χρὴ λέγειν*. *Εἰς* is used in a prepositional meaning with adverbs of time, in *εἰσότε* as (Hom. Od. II 99), *εἰς ὅπερ* (Aeschin. 67, 88), *εἰς τότε* (Plato de legg. p. 845 c) *εἰς πότε* (Soph. Al. 1185) *εἰς δὲ* (Thucyd.) *εἰς δψὲ* (Thuc. 8, 23), *εἰσάπαξ* (Thucyd., Plato) *εἰς αὐθεῖς* (Plato de legg. p. 862 D etc.), *εἰς ἔπειτα* (Thucyd. I 130), *εἰς αὐτίκα* (Arist. Pac. 367), *εἰς ὕστερον* (Homer, etc.), *εἰς τῆμος* (Hom. Odys. VII 318), *εἰς αὔριον*. ‘*Ἐκτορε* did not come into use until after the Attic period, but *ἔξτοι* is found in Homer, and *ἔξτοι* in Aristoph. Av. 334. Similarly *ἴκταλατ* is only found in such writers as Arrian, Apollonius, Dyscolus, Josephus, Apollodorus. Plutarch uses it several times, e.g. Aristed. c. 17 *ἴκταλατ πρὸς τὴν μάχην σταργῶν*, Nik. c. 9 *ἴκταλατ τῆς εἰρήνης δρεγομένου*, Demetr. c. 52 *τοῦτον τὸν ίκταλατ ποθῶν*, Timoleon c. 10 *καλοῦντος αὐτοὺς ἔκταλατ προθύμας Ἀνδρομάχον* (so Madvig Adv. I p. 578; vulgo *έτι πάλατ*), Sertor. comp. cum Eumen. c. I p. 595 c οἱ μὲν *ἴκταλατ* *Ρωμαῖοι ἔδουλεντον*. Cf. Mr. Rutherford's observations in the *New Phrynicus* pp. 117—122, Sturm *de dial. Maced.* p. 209 ff.

16. *Πισιδῶνες*, Pisidians, or the inhabitants of the mountain district between Phrygia and Pamphylia, who were men of predatory habits. *ἀποκτενεῦντας*] G. § 277, 3. *ὅταν—καταλισθῇ*, ‘whenever he should take up his quarters,’

17. Δεοντοκέφαλφ, (*Δεόντων κεφαλή*), mentioned also by Appian Mithr. 19, as δχυρώτατον χωρίον Φρυγίας.

18. μεσημβρίας, 'at noon,' G. 179, 1.

19. τὴν μητέρα τῶν θεῶν] Magna mater, Rhea, Kybele or Cybèle, the mountain goddess, the great centre of whose worship was at Pessinus in Phrygia, under the shadow of Mount Dindymon (hence her name Dindymene), on which was a cave containing what was believed to be the oldest of her sanctuaries. A. S. Murray, *Manual of Mythology*, pp. 83—85. δναρ, 26, 2.

20. νότιρα, 'be too late for,' 'miss,' an intentionally ambiguous expression for 'avoid.' μη περιπέσῃς] G. § 218.

21. ἀντὶ τούτου, 'as a recompense for this warning.'
οὐ αἰτῶ—Μνησιωτολίμαν] G. § 164.

22. θεράπαιναν] G. § 187 n. 4.

23. τὴν λεωφόρον, sc. ὁδόν, (λέως, φέρω) *viam publicam*, 'the highway' to the coast.

24. ἀφῆκε, *omisit*, 'gave up.' Cf. Thucyd. VIII 41, εὐθὺς ἀφεῖς τὸ ἐς τὴν Χίον ἔπλει ἐς τὴν Καῦνον. ἔτερος sc. ὁδῷ. παραλλάξεις] Hesychius παραλλάξεις: παρελθὼν, 'passing by,' properly, changing one's position relatively to another person: of Xen. Hell. vi 12 ἐπει ταρῆλλαξαν οἱ τρῶτοι τὴν ἑέδραν, Polyb. v 80, 4 παραλλάξεις τὴν τόλιν, xv 2, 8 ἐὰν παραλλάξωσι τὸν Μακάραν πόταμον, Plut. Pelop. c. 23, Pyrrh. c. 7 γενομένης δὲ διαμαρτίλας καθ' ὅδον δλλήλους παρῆλλαξαν, Agesil. c. 34 παραλλάξεις τὸν Ἀγγησθαον, Cim. c. 1 p. 478 ἢ τὴν παιδικὴν ἡλικίαν παρηλαχότος, Alcib. c. 7. See note on 25, 2. τῶν ὑποζυγίων] G. § 168.

§ 2. 26. σκηνήν, not such as that mentioned in 26, 3, but the 'tent' under which he passed the night, which would be taken down in the morning and carried with the rest of the baggage by the sumpter-beasts (*ὑποζύγια*). τῶν ὑποζυγίων ἕνδε, *unum ex iumentis*, the numeral adjective being almost equivalent to the indefinite pronoun, an usage not

uncommon with the partitive genitive, but otherwise peculiar to later Greek (G. F. Schömann ad Plut. Cleom. 7, 2). Cf. Arat. c. 5 ην δὲ τῶν φυγάδων ἐνδε, Ξενοκλέους, ἀδελφός, Cleom. 7, 2 τῶν ἑφόρων ἔνα, ib. 37, 2 οἰκέτην ἔνα τῶν συνειδότων.

29. ἐκπετάσαντες ἀνέψυχον, *aulaea, quae aquam penitus imbiberant, expansa siccabant*, ‘had spread them out and were drying them.’ Herod. vii 59 τὰς νέας ἀνέψυχον ἀνεκόντας (*naves subductas ad aërem et ventum siccabant*), Xen. Hell. i 5, 10, Strabo xvii p. 1137 οἱ ἐξήκοντα δὲ ἡμέραις τελέως γυμνοῦται καὶ ἀναψύχεται τὸ πεδίον, Plut. Sull. c. 29 p. 470 ή ἀναψύξαι τὸν ἰδρώτα τῶν ἵππων. The reading of Φ^α ἐκπιέσαντες is not noticed by any of the commentators.

30. ἐν τούτῳ, ‘meanwhile.’ προστέφεροντο, *accurrebant, invadabant*, ‘were coming to attack them,’ 14, 2; 15, 2· τὸ ψυχόμενα, ‘what was hung out to dry.’

- 39**
- 1. πρὸς τὴν σελήνην, ‘by moonlight.’
 - 2. κάκενον=καὶ ἐκεῖνον, G. § 11, 2.
 - 3. εὐρήσειν] G. § 184, 3.
 - 4. τὴν αὐλαίαν δύνεστελλον, ‘were drawing back or raising the curtain.’
 - 5. οἱ παραφυλάσσοντες] 26, 1.
 - 6. τὴν ἐπιφάνειαν, ‘the manifestation’ of her presence to aid her worshipper. Diod. Sic. i c. 25 φασὶ δὲ Άγυπτοι τὴν “Ισιν...κατὰ τοὺς ὕπους τοῖς ἀξιοῦσι διδόναι βοηθήματα φανερῶς ἐπιδεικνυμένην τὴν ἴδιαν ἐπιφάνειαν, (praesentiam suam declarare Cic. de nat. deor. II), ib. διὸ τὴν ἡ ταῖς θεαταῖς ἐπιφάνειαν, Dionys. Halic. II 68 πάνυ δὲ ἡν ἀξιον καὶ τὴν ἐπιφάνειαν ιστορῆσαι τῆς θεᾶς, ἡν ἐπεδειξαν ταῖς ἀδικως ἐγκληθείσαις παρθένοις. The same writer ib. censures the Epicureans and other philosophers τοὺς διασύροντας (‘who pull to pieces,’ i.e. ‘disparage’), τὰς ἐπιφανεῖας τῶν θεῶν.
 - 7. ἀπέδειξεν, *constituit*, ‘appointed,’ G. § 166. Herod. III 63 τὸν Καμβύσης ἐπίτροκον τῶν οἰκιῶν ἀπέδειξε, IV 67, V 64, Xen. Anab. I 1, 2.

CHAPTER XXXI

§ 1. 10. ήλθεν...καὶ ἔθετο] Observe the difference of tenses, ‘when he had arrived and was engaged in viewing.’

11. κατασκεύη, ‘architecture.’ κατασκεύη (παρασκεῦη signifies ‘stock,’ ‘fixed’)(temporary and occasional ‘furniture’: hence it is applied by Thucyd. i 10, 2 to the buildings of a city (*εἰ λειψθεῖη τῆς πόλεως* τὰ ιερὰ καὶ τῆς κατασκευῆς τὰ ἐδάφη), vi 17 to the forts for the defence of a country, vi 81 to the furniture of a ship, &c.

12. ἀναθημάτων, the regular term for ‘votive offerings,’ from ἀνατίθεναι ‘to put up’ in a temple, ‘to dedicate.’ εἴδε δὲ καὶ, ‘and saw among other sights.’ The common reading εἴδε καὶ is objectionable because it makes the apodosis begin here, which should naturally begin l. 17 εἴτε δὴ κ.τ.λ. I have therefore introduced δὲ, which might easily have been omitted from its juxtaposition to εἴδε, such instances of lipography being very common in ancient MSS.

13. τὴν καλουμένην ὑδροφόρον, ‘the so-called water-carrier,’ i.e. bronze statue of a maiden.

14. μέγεθος διπηχυν] G. § 160, 1.

15. ὕδατων ἐπιστάτης, ‘warden or master-surveyor of the water-supply.’ It is not certain whether this officer was one of the regular commissioners or directors of the public works (ἐπίσταται τῶν δημοσίων ἔργων, ἀστύνομοι, *praefecti operum*) at Athens or not. A similar officer was appointed for the care of the roads (όδοτοις) Aeschin. 57, 27. The water wardenship was a very important office in a country like Attica, where the supply was deficient. One of his chief duties would be to superintend the public supply of water from the Kephisus and other small streams and conduits, and see that no one drew off a supply to which he was not entitled (ὑφαιρεῖσθαι),

or diverted their water-course (*παροχετεύειν*). Ἐλάν, 'convicting,' a regular Attic law-term, like *φεύγω* (Perikl. 32), *ἀποφεύγων, διώκων*.

16. ἐκ τῆς ἡγμίας ποιησάμενος, 'causing it to be made out of, with the fines' of those who paid their forfeits. So, as we are told by Pausanias (v 21, 2), the Eleans had certain statues of Zeus made in bronze with the fines paid by athletes (*ἀπὸ χρημάτων ἐπιβληθείσης ἀθλητῶν ἡγμίας οὐβρίσασιν ἐς τὸν ἄγωνα*). For *ποιησάμενος* cf. 5, 4, G. § 199 note 2, and for *ἐκ τῆς ἡγμίας* 4, 1 l. 12 *ἐκ τῶν χρημάτων τούτων κατασκενάσασθαι τριήρεις*.

17. εἴτε θῇ παθέν τι πρὸς, 'whether it was because his feelings were touched at the captivity of his offering or' etc.

20. λόγον προστίγνεγκεν, 'addressed a proposal.' 23, 2.

§ 2. 24. εἰς τὴν γυναικωνῖτιν κατέφυγε, 'was driven to apply to the satrap's harem,' to intercede for him. Artox. 28 τοῦ μὲν ἀδελφοῦ διὰ τῆς γυναικωνίτιδος ἐνδυομένου τοῖς πράγμασιν.

26. ἐκείνον κατεπράῦνε τῆς ὀργῆς, constr. after the analogy of *ταύειν*: the usual phrase would be *ἐκείνον κατεπράῦνε τὴν ὀργήν*.

27. παρέκειν ἔαντὸν εὐλαβέστερον, 'showed himself more cautious,' 5, 4 l. 18.

καὶ τὸν φθόνον... δεδοικώς, not 'the jealousy as well as the enmity' (*Sintenis*), for *καὶ* belongs to the whole sentence and not to *φθόνον* only.

29. οὐ γάρ] the *γάρ* belongs to the participial clause, not to *διῆγε*, 'for he did not travel about Asia because of their jealousy, but lived quietly at Magnesia.'

30. Θεόπομπος] 19, 1; 25, 2.

40 1. καρπούμενος δωρεᾶς, 'in the enjoyment of presents from the king.'

2. δμοια, adverbial, *pariter cum*, 'in like manner with,' [redacted], i 26, 4 χρημάτων δυνάμει δυτες ὁμοῖα τοῖς Ἑλλήνων πλον-

σιωτάτοις, VII 29, 4 τὸ γένος τὸ τῶν Θρακῶν ὁμοῖα τοῖς μάλιστα τοῦ βαρβαρικοῦ φονικώτατον ἔστι, Herod. III 8, 1 ὁμοῖα τοῖς μάλιστα, 57, 2 ὁμοῖα τοῖς πλουσιωτάτοις, VII 118, 141, 1 ἀνὴρ δόκιμος ὁμοῖα τῷ μάλιστα. τοῖς ἀρίστοις, 'the chief men.'

8. *άδεῶς*, 'quietly,' 'unmolested,' partly in opp. to *πλανώμενος*, partly to what follows. οὐ πάνυ τι] 4, 2.

4. *προσέχοντος*] 2, 4; 7, 1; 14, 2; 32, 2.
νπ' ἀσχολιῶν περὶ τοῖς ἄνω πρᾶξες, 'owing to his engagements about inland matters.'

§ 3. 5. *Αἴγυπτος* ἀφισταμένη, 'the revolt of Egypt,' which happened in B.C. 460=Ol. 79, 4 under the leadership of Inaros the Libyan. See Thucyd. I. 104, who also says that the Athenians came from Cyprus to their assistance, ἥλθον ἀποικόντες τὴν Κύπρον καὶ ἀναπλεύσαντες ἀπὸ θαλάσσης ἐς τὸν Νέδον.

7. *ἀναπλέουσαι*] 16, 2.

8. *ἐπέστρεψεν αὐτὸν*, 'made him (sc. the king) turn his attention to.' See Cr. App.

9. *dugetuχερεν τοῖς Ἑλλησι, invadentibus Graecis occurrere et obistere, vicissim Graecos invadere.* κωλύειν αὖξανομένους] cf. Thucyd. I 26, 2 μὴ κωλύωνται ὑπ' αὐτῶν κατὰ θάλασσαν περαιούμενοι, Dion. Halio. 7, 25 κωλύειν τινα εἰσάγοντα. Hence Blass' conjecture κολούειν is needless.

10. *ἐπ' αὐτὸν*, 'against him,' to be taken with αὖξανομένους. δυνάμεις ἀκινοῦντο, 'forces were being put in motion.'

11. *ῳεπέμποντο*, 'were being despatched in different directions,' 'sent hither and thither,' cf. διαφέρεσθαι 14, 3.
κατέβαινον] 26, 1.

12. *τῶν Ἑλληνικῶν ἐξάπτεσθαι*, i. q. ἀπτεσθαι, *ut res Graeciae susciperet*, 'to attend to Hellenic affairs' not 'to attack Greece' (Stewart), which meaning would at any rate require *τῶν Ἑλλήνων*. Polybius, however (III 51, 2), uses ἐξάπτεσθαι τῆς πορειᾶς for 'to hang on the rear of an enemy's army

while on the march,' cf. iv 11, 6 ἐξάπτεσθαι τῆς οὐραγίας καὶ καταπειράζειν τῶν πολεμίων, ib. 12, 1, and Plutarch C. Caesar c. 52 ἐξάπτεσθαι τῶν πολεμίων καὶ φιλομαχεῖν, ib. Sull. c. 29 p. 470 r, also Diod. Sic. xi 17 τὸ ἀλλο πλῆθος τῶν νεῶν ἐξ-
τεμψειν προστάξας ἐξάπτεσθαι τῶν πολεμίων, ib. xiii c. 10
ἐξήπτοντο τῆς μάχης. Adv. Colot. c. 10 ἐξάπτεται τοῦ 'Εμ-
πεδοκλέους ταῦτα πρέσσος it means *insectetur* 'he assails.'
In Alc. c. 28 p. 207 in αὐτῷ μὲν εὖθες ἐξήπτοντο καὶ συνεπλέ-
κοντο it means 'began the attack.'

14. οὗτε δι' ὅργην τινα] this is the beginning of the conclusion to the sentence which commences with ως δ' Αἰγυπτός l. 5.

15. ἐκράθεις, 'elated'; πρὸς τὸν πόλεμον may depend either upon this or upon δυνάμει.

16. Τινες μὲν, answers τὸ δὲ πλεῖστον. οὐδέ διφικτόν,
'was not so much as attainable, feasible,' even if he had wished it.
This is a cause which Thucydides also assigns (i 138): *κοινῆς*
δὲ τελευτὴ τὸν βίον λέγουσι δέ τινες καὶ ἐκούσιον φαρμάκῳ ἀποθα-
νεῖν, ἀδύνατον *κομισαρτα* εἶναι ἐπιτελέσαι βασιλεῖ δι-
πέσχετο.

§ 4. 16. στρατηγοὺς] Perikles, Myronides, Tolmi-
das, Leokrates.

19. ἡπερφυώς εὐημεροῦντος, 'being marvellously success-
ful,' 'having marvellous good fortune,' a favourite word with
Plutarch as is shown by Wyttensbach ad Mor. Tom. vi i p. 570.

20. αἰδοῖς = αἰδούμενος G. § 188, 1, 'from a regard for,'
'feeling of shame at,' because he would not tarnish his glory,
and disgrace the great trophies he had won.

21. δριστα βουλευσάμενος, 'determining, as his best
course.'

22. τὴν τελευτὴν πρέπουσαν] G. § 142, 3.

24. Σεξιωσάμενος, 'after shaking hands with, taking leave
of them.'

ὡς δὲ πολὺς λόγος, sc. ἔστι, 27, 2, ‘as the common story goes,’ referred to by Arist. Eq. 83

βέλτιστον ἡμῶν αἷμα ταυρεῖον πιεῖν,
Θεμιστοκλέους γὰρ θάνατος αἰρετώτερος.

and reported by Klitarchus and Stratokles, acc. to Cic. Brut. c. 11 § 22 f., *nam quem Thucydides* (i. 138) *tantum mortuum scripsit et in Attica clam humatum, addidit fuisse suspicionem veneno sibi consivisse mortem; hunc isti* (Clitarchus et Stratocles) *aiunt, cum taurum immolavisset, excepisse sanguinem patera et eo poto mortuum concidisse.* On the fatal effects of drinking bull's blood see Plin. nat. hist. 11, 90 *taurorum sanguis celerrime coit atque durescit, ideo pestifer potu maxime.*

25. ἔνιοι, sc. φασίν. φάρμακον ἐφῆμερον, τὸ αὐθημερὸν ἀγαροῦν, ἐκαλεῖτο δὲ οὕτω κατ' ἔξοχὴν τὸ κώνειον, v. Suid. et Hesychium (*Koraës*): *venenum praesentaneum* (Aul. Gell. vi 4) ‘some quickly-operating poison,’ lit. ‘that kills on the same day.’

26. προσενεγκάμενος, *ori suo admoveens*, ‘taking to himself,’ ‘swallowing.’ Xen. Cug. iv 2, 41 *τοσοῦτον σῖτον προσφέρεσθαι δεῖν ημᾶς*, Sympos. iv 41 πολὺ πλεῖον διαφέρει πρὸς ἥδονήν, θταν ἀναμενας τὸ δεθῆναι προσφέρωματ, Aesch. c. Timarch. § 145 πάντων αὐτὸν κελευθτων λούσασθαι καὶ σῖτον προσενέγκασθαι. κατέστρεψε, sc. τὸν βίον, ‘ended his life.’ So Cebes Tab. c. 10 l. 184 ed. Jerram τὸν βίον καταστρέψει.

28. ἐν πολιτείαις καὶ ἡγεμονίαις, ‘in civil and military services.’

1. χρώμενον διατελεῖν] G. 279, 4 note. φιλανθρώπιον 41 πῶς, ‘in a friendly manner,’ ‘with kindness.’ On the meaning of φιλανθρωπία there is an excellent note by Dr Field on Acts xxviii, 2 in his *Otium Noricense Part III* pp. 90—91, where he shows that there is no trace in Greek of its modern use, its object being always individuals appealing to our common humanity, and compares Plut. vit. Cat. mai. o. 5.

CHAPTER XXXII

§ 1. θ. παιδας, predicative. *ἴκ μὲν Ἀρχίππης*
ἐκ δὲ τῆς ἐπιγαμηθεσῆς should have followed, but the construction is altered.

4. Ἀλωπεκήθεν, of Alopeke, a deme in the phylê Antechis.

5. Πλάτων] Meno c. 31 p. 93: *ἡ οὐκ ἀκούεις ὅτι Θεμιστοκλῆς Κλεεφαντον τὸν υἱὸν ἵππεα μὲν ἐδιδάξατο ἀγαθὸν; ἐπέμενε γοῦν ἐπὶ τῶν ἵππων δρόβος ἑστηκὼς καὶ ἡκόντιζεν ἀπὸ τῶν ἵππων δρόβος· καὶ ἀλλὰ πολλὰ καὶ θαυμαστὰ εἰργάζετο, ἢ ἐκεῖνος αὐτὸν ἐπαιδεύσατο καὶ ἐποίησε σοφὸν, ὅσα διδασκάλων ἀγαθῶν εἰχετο.—*'Ἀκήκοα—τι δαλ τόδε;* Ως Κλεεφαντος δ Θεμιστοκλέους ἀνὴρ ἀγαθὸς καὶ σοφὸς ἐγένετο ἀπερ δ πατήρ αὐτοῦ ἥδη του ἀκήκοας η νεωτέρου η πρεσβυτέρου;—Οὐ δῆτα.*

7. τἄλλα, 'in other respects,' G. § 160, 2 note.
οὐδενὸς ἀξίου] G. § 178 note.

8. Νεοκλῆς] Neoklēs, being the eldest, bore the name of his paternal grandfather.

10. Δάνσανδρος δ πάππος κτλ., 'Lysander, his (maternal) grandfather, adopted.' Plut. Sol. c. 7 p. 81 γ παῖδα θετὸν ἔσχε τοιησάμενος αὐτὸς τὸν τῆς ἀδελφῆς.

11. πλέονς, 'several.' *ἴκ τῆς ἐπιγαμηθείσης,* 'by his second wife.' Cat. mai. c. 27 p. 352 γ ἀτέλιπε γενεὰν ἔνα μὲν υἱὸν ἐκ τῆς ἐπιγαμηθείσης. ἐπιγαμεῖν is 'to marry besides,' i.e. 'to take a second wife': cf. Eur. Alc. I. 305 μὴ 'πιγήμηγες τοῦσδε μητριαὶν τέκνοις, Plut. Cat. mai. c. 24 p. 351 δ ἐπιγήμαντα τοῦς ἐνηλίκους ('of age') πασὶ Τιμώνασσαν, Arist. c. Cat. comp. c. 6 p. 356 δ ἐνηλίκῳ παιδὶ...ἐπιγήμαι κόρην ὑπηρέτου, so Plin. Ep. vi 33, 2 *quam illi (filiae) novercam...induxerat.* Diod. Sic. xi 57 says that the king of Persia gave him a wife Περσίδα, εὐγενεῖᾳ τε καὶ κάλλει διαφέρουσαν, ἐτι δὲ κατ' ἀρετὴν ἐπανουμένην. But she could not have been the mother of the Mnesiptolema mentioned in c. 30.

13. οὐκ ἀν διμομῆτρος] κατὰ τὸν Σόλωνος νόμον ἐξῆν Ἀθηναῖς τὰς ἐκ πατέρων γαμεῖν ἀδελφάς, οὐ μὴν καὶ τὰς ἐκ μητέρων (Koraës). Cf. Nep. Cim. c. 1 *Atheniensibus licet eodem patre natus uxores ducere.*

15. ἀδελφίδον, ‘nephew.’

17. ἀδελφῶν] who after their father's death became their sisters' legal guardians (κύριοι).

18. Κύρεψε, sc. Phrasikles.

§ 2. 19. τάφον] Thuc. i 138, 5 μυημένοις μὲν οὐν αὐτοῦ ἐν Μαγνησίᾳ ἔστι τῇ Ἀσιανῇ ἐν τῇ ἀγορᾷ. Founders and otherwise distinguished men were buried in the market-place of their town; as Brasidas at Amphipolis Thuc. vii, Timoleon at Syracuse, v. Plutarch Timol. c. 39, 4.

21. οὗτε corresponds to ἡ τε λέγων φίλαρχος.

προσέχειν] 2, 4; 31, 2. ἐν τῷ, sc. λόγῳ, ‘in his address to the associates’ or members of the oligarchical clubs.

'Ruhnken, with whom Sauppe agrees, thought that this Address (no longer extant) was a letter written by Andokides, then in exile, to the fellow-conspirators of Peisandros in B.C. 411. But the breach of Andokides with the oligarchical party, after his informations in 415, was decisive and final: when he returned to Athens in 411 he was at once denounced by Peisandros and imprisoned. It seems better, then, with Kirchhoff and Blass to refer this Address to an earlier time than 415: perhaps to the years 420–418, a period of keen struggle between the oligarchical and popular party at Athens. Cf. Plut. Alk. c. 18.' Prof. Jebb *Attic orators*, Vol. I. p. 139 f.

24. παρεξύων, ‘by way of exasperating,’ ‘intending to exasperate.’

25. ὥσπερ ἐν τραγῳδίᾳ τῇ ιστορίᾳ] notice the omission of the prepos. before τῇ ιστορίᾳ, which, in comparisons where ὡς or ὥσπερ precedes, is not uncommon.

Cf. Aem. Paul. c. 1 ὥσπερ ἐν ἱστορίᾳ, τῇ ιστορίᾳ τεμάχειν τὸν βίον, Anton. c. 9 ἐκπαμάτων, ὥσπερ ἐν πομπαῖς, ταῖς επιοδημίαις διαφερομένων, Arat. c. 38 καθάπερ ἐν δίκῃ, τῇ ιστορίᾳ, ib. 41 ὥσπερ ἐπὶ ναυαγίου, τῇς πατρίδος, de exsil. c. 18 ὡς ἐπὶ σχεδίας, διαφέρονται τῆς ἐλπίδος, Sull. c. 22 πολλοὶ τὴν τυραννίδα φεύγοντες ὥσπερ εἰς λιμένα τοῦ Σύλλα τὸ στρατόπεδον κατεφέροντο, Arrian de exp. Alex. III 3, 7 οὐδὲ ἐστιν εἰδέναι ἵνα χρὴ πορεύεσθαι καθάπερ ἐν πελάγει, τῇ φύσιμῃ, Plato de rep. VIII p. 545 Ε ὡς πρὸς παῖδας

ἡμᾶς παῖδουσα, i. e. πρὸς ἡμᾶς ὡς πρὸς ταῖδας, Tim. p. 79 A ἐπὶν ὥστερ δὲ αὐλάνος τοῦ σώματος τὰ τῶν φλεβῶν ποιεῖ ρεύματα, i.e. διὰ τοῦ σώματος, πόστερ δὲ αὐλάνος, ib. p. 91 D κάρπων δρέγαντες ὡς εἰς δρουραν τὴν μήτραν, Diodor. Sic. XVIII. c. 32 καθίστερ πρὸς τείχος ὅχυρων τὴν τῶν πεζῶν φάλαγγα κατέφυγον, Lucian de salt. c. 81 ὥστερ ἐν κατόπινται, τῷ ὀρχηστῇ ἑαυτὸν βλέπεται. Cf. Jacobs on Anthol. Palat. Vol. III p. 852.

26. μονον, i.e. μόνον οὐ, tantum non, 'all but.'
μηχανήν δρᾶς, 'lifting a machine,' i.e. employing stage machinery.

27. προαγαγών] 'bringing on the stage.' τινά]
nescio quem, ironically.

28. ἀγώνα κινεῖν, 'to excite a struggle of feeling,' 'to make a moving scene.' Sol. c. 7, p. 82 *τὸν μέλλοντος ὕδηνας ἀεὶ καὶ τρόμους καὶ ἀγώνας, εἰ στέρησονται, παρέχοντος.*

29. οὐδέ—δ τυχὼν, 'not even an ordinary man,' 'no one without exception.' δ τυχῶν, lit. 'one who meets you by chance.' Lat. *quivis, primus quisque.* πέπλασται, sc. τάῦτα.

§ 3. Διόδωρος δὲ περιηγητής, 'Diodorus the topographer,' an Athenian, of whom we know only that he wrote before B.C. 308, at the time when Athens had only twelve phylae, 1. περὶ δήμων, 2. περὶ μνημάτων or 'on monuments.' Cf. Plut. Thes. c. 26, Cim. c. 16, Vitt. X Oratt. p. 849, Athenaeus. xiii c. 60 p. 591 e. Diogen. Laert. iv 2 quotes from the first book of the ἀπομνημονεύματα of Diodorus, but, as there are five Diodoruses mentioned by Athenaeus, it is impossible to identify him with any one in particular of them.

42 1. ὡς πονοῶν, 'as making a surmise.'

2. μέγαν λημένα] The Peiraeus proper *par excellence*, or largest of the three harbours of the Peiraic peninsula, called by the Italians *Porto Leone* and by the Greeks themselves *Port Drako*, the other two being Munychia (*Fanari*) and Zea (*Stratiotiki* or *Paschalimini*). Its northern and largest portion called the Emporium was appropriated to commerce; the southern was used for the Athenian navy and ~~and~~ Kantharus (Arist. Pax v. 145). διπλοῦ

Αλκιμον δικρωτηρίου, 'from the headland opposite which must have been Eetioneia, or the narrow

tongue of land which projects into the sea on the western side of the harbour (Thuc. viii 90), and towards which the headland called Alkimus projected from the opposite shore, both of them being prolonged by moles, called *χηλαι* 'claws.' It is supposed that Alkimus was the name of the colossal lion of white marble (whence its modern name), which lay on the beach till it was carried to Venice after the capture of Athens by the Venetians in A.D. 1687.

3. πρόκειται, 'juts out.' οἶον ἀγκάλη, 'a sort of elbow,' 'bend.'

4. κέμψαντι, *circumvecto*, 'after one has doubled this foreland,' Herod. iv 42 κέμψας τὸ ἀκρωτήριον, iv 43, vii 122, 193, Arist. Ach. 96 περὶ ἀκρὰ κάμπτων, Polyb. i. 25, 8 κάμψαντες τὸν Πάχυνον ὑπερῆραν, 54, 1; i 89, 5 κάμψαντες τὸ Λιλύβαιον. For the dative see G. § 184, 5. ὥς τὸ ὑπεδίον, sc. ἔστι, 'where the sea is tolerably calm.'

5. κρηπίς, 'foundation,' 'base.' τὸ ἐπ' αὐτῷ βωμοεδές, 'the altar-shaped elevation on it.'

6. οἶεναι, not 'it is thought' (Stewart), but 'he (Diodorus) supposes.'

7. Πλάτων] one of the chief and best poets of the old Athenian comedy, who flourished from b.c. 428 to b.c. 389. His *Kleophon* gained the third prize in b.c. 405 when Aristophanes gained the first with the *Frogs*. αὐτῷ μαρτυρεῖν, 'is a witness in his favour.' ἐν τούτοις, 'in the following lines.'

8. ἐν καλῷ, = ἐν ἐπιτιθετῷ τόπῳ (Koraës), *loco opportuno*, 'in a fit site.' Xen. Hell. ii 1, 25 οὐκ ἐν καλῷ ἔφη αὐτοὺς ὅρμεῖν, vi 2, 9 κεῖσθαι τὴν Κέρκυραν ἐν καλῷ τοῦ Κορινθιακοῦ κόλπου, or *commodè*, 'conveniently' as in Thuc. v 29, 4 ἐν καλῷ ἔδοκε η μάχη ἐσεσθαι.

9. πρόστρησις, 'an (object of) greeting.' πανταχοῦ, because visible on all sides.

12. χάστραν ἄμυλλ' ὥς, *si quando certamina navalia erunt*, not 'when our fleets are summoned to the fight' (Stewart), but 'whenever there is a boat-race,' which, we know, was a

part of the Panathenaic festival. See an interesting article on the subject of boat-races among the Greeks by Prof. Percy Gardner in *Journal of Hellenic Studies*, Vol. II N° 1 p. 90 ff. April 1881.

§ 4. 13. τοῖς διὸ γένους = τοῖς ἀπογόνοις.

14. φυλαττόμεναι ἡσαν, for ἡσαν αἱ φυλάττονται.

16. τίμετερος συνήθης, *noster familiaris*, an adjective used substantively. So in Latin *iniquus*, *invidus*: see my n. to Cic. pro Plancio 1 § 1 l. 6.

17. περὶ Ἀμμωνίας τῷ φιλοσόφῳ, 'in the school of Ammonius' ὁ Λαμπραῖς, the Peripatetic philosopher of Lamprae in Attica, who was Plutarch's instructor. See Introduction p. xii § 2, quæst. conv. III 1, 2, IX 15. He is mentioned by Ammonius in his treatise περὶ διαφόρων λεξέων p. 44, as the author of a treatise περὶ θυσιῶν, the full title of which was περὶ βωμῶν καὶ θυσιῶν Athenaeus XI c. 52 p. 476 F, Harpocratio, Fabric. Bibl. Gr. IV c. 26 p. 171.

END OF NOTES

APPENDIX ON THE TEXT

APPENDIX ON THE TEXT

A. General Remarks

MANUSCRIPTS

The oldest ms of Plutarch, the codex Sangermanensis in the library of St Germain (Sg), was written in the tenth century; it contains only fifteen of the *Parallel Lives*, and that of Themistokles is not one of them. (Madvig *adv. crit.* i p. 88 is mistaken on this point.)

The next most important are those in the National Library of Paris; foremost among which both for its antiquity and the excellence of its readings is the folio which bears the press-mark 1671 and is generally known as A. It was written in A.D. 1296 and originally belonged to the Medici Library at Florence. It contains all the *Parallel Lives*, but not arranged in the usual order, also all the *Moral Works*. There are a few corrections in it of obvious and orthographical errors; while various readings from other mss have been added by a more recent hand. Its readings are generally good in passages where it differs considerably from the other mss (Baehr *praeaf. ad Alkib.* p. vi ff.).

The second is that which bears the press-mark 1672 and is known as B. It is a noble folio of 944 pages, beautifully and very clearly written on parchment, without marginal notes or indices. It contains all the *Lives* as well as the *Moralia*, the former in the same order as in A. Wyttensbach (*praeaf. ad Plut. opp. mor.* 8vo ed. p. LXXII) ascribes it to the 14th century, Bähr (*l. c. p. viii*) to the 16th. It was apparently copied from A, but it has some better readings and some of A's

lacunae filled up. It has been collated by myself after Bähr and Held for the present edition.

No. 1673 (C), a ms of the 13th century, containing the *Lives* only, appears to be derived from a different source from the former. It requires to be used with caution, because many of its readings look like arbitrary emendations of the transcriber, who must have been a competent scholar. The consensus of A B C leaves no room for doubt about a reading; where C and other mss differ from A B, the reading of these latter is to be preferred, unless obviously incapable of explanation: where C differs from all the other mss it is very rarely that we can defer to its sole authority, unless in the few instances where the reading of all other mss, especially A B, admits of no explanation.

No. 1674 (D) contains the *Lives* only: its readings differ very little from those of A, and only where it agrees with C. It has also exactly the same abbreviations and the same scholia, so that it must be a transcript either of A itself, or of the archetype from which A was taken.

No. 1675 (E), written in the 14th or 15th century, contains eighteen of the *Lives* and amongst them that of Themistokles, and about half of the *Moral Works*. Wytenbach pronounces it to be a copy of either B or else some other transcript of the same archetype.

Last, but by no means least in value, is No. 1676 (F), a 4to ms of the 15th century, which I have collated for this edition. It contains twenty-two of the *Lives*; amongst them that of *Themistokles*. Sintenis was not aware of its value, until he had published the three first volumes of his first complete recension of the text of the *Lives* (Leipzig, 8vo. 1839—1843). In the preface to his fourth volume he admits its value and, while giving a complete collation of it, does tardy justice to the memory of Henri Estienne, whom he with others had unjustly condemned for mixing up the ms readings with his own emendations, by confessing his conviction that Stephen must have made more use of this than of any other ms. The ms, however, which is on paper, mostly in beautiful and clear writing, is unfortunately not of equal merit throughout.

In the Lives of *Lykurgus*, *Numa*, *Solon*, *Publicola*, *Themistokles*, *Camillus*, *Aristeides*, *Cato major*, *Fabius*, *Agesilaus*, *Pompeius* it gives the best readings: in the remaining eleven it is not so trustworthy, the writing being inferior and careless.

EDITIONS

The first Edition of the *Lives* was a collection of the Latin version made by several hands, published at Rome in 2 voll. fol. about the year 1470. The *editio princeps* of the Greek text was from the Press of P. Giunta at Florence A.D. 1517; this was followed by one from the Aldine press at Venice A.D. 1519, a second edition of which, containing a purer text, was the basis of Henri Estienne's edition.

The *editio princeps* of the entire works was published at Geneva in 1572 by Henri Estienne, in 18 voll. 8vo. The text of this has always been accepted as the vulgate, being greatly superior to the Aldine and Juntine: but, until lately, its critical merits have been underrated. Reiske (*praef. t. 1 p. xv* 'haud raro aut conjecturas suas tacite, clam et furtim ingessit aut inventa sua pro lectionibus codicum mustorum venditat, non indicans qui essent illi codices et unde habuisset et ubi prostent,' and again *p. xxviii—p. xxx*), Wytténbach (*praef. ad opera moralia p. cvii—cxlv* 'Stephanus multos locos bene corredit, multos perperam mutavit, utrorumque locorum ac fontium diserta significazione omittenda scripturam Plutarcheam dubiam reddidit'), Elmsley (Edinburgh Review 1803 'the edition of Henry Stephen abounds with vacant spaces which that editor was unable to fill up and with corruptions so glaring and fatal as to defy the utmost license of conjectural emendation'), Sintenis (*praef. ad vol. 1 8vo. Lipsiae, 1839* 'qui aliquam in Plutarcho posuerunt operam, uno ore confessi sunt omnes, quas Stephanus multis locis adhibuisset correctiones non ex libris petitas, sed ab ipso excogitatas esse, cuius rei argumenta certissima ex ipsarum correctionum indole petere licet cuivis sermonis Plutarchei non plane ignaro') have all spoken in disparaging terms of it. Sintenis however revokes his indiscriminate censure of Stephen

in a later volume and confesses that one advantage he gained by collating the Paris mss was 'ut Henrici Stephani lectiones omnes sive in textum receptas sive in annotationibus commemoratas ex codicibus excerptas, non ab ipso fictas esse luculenter appareret vindicareturque viri summi memoria a malae fidei criminationibus cum ab aliis in eum coniectis tum a me in praefatione voluminis primi repetitis inconsideratius.'

The Paris edition of 1624 is a reimpression of that published at Frankfurt in 1620 (which is itself a reimpression of the preceding ones of 1599 and 1605), but contains in addition Rualdus' life of Plutarch. It has also Crusius' version of the *Lives*, and that of the *Morals* by William Xylander (Professor of Greek at Heidelberg, 1558—1576).

The edition of the *Lives* by Bryan (London, 5 vols. 4to 1728—29), completed by Moses Solanus (du Soul), is formed on the last. It professes to give the various readings of six mss and the notes of all former editors, together with those of Palmer, Dacier and the Editor himself. Reiske says of this edition that it is like other English editions of the classics which 'splendent et oculos feriunt atque arrendit,' but is not to be relied on, being full of typographical errors, omissions of sometimes one, sometimes more words.

John James Reiske's own edition (Lipsiae 12 vol. 1774—1782) is the second 8vo. publication of all Plutarch. He had access to one ms, but was disabled by impaired eyesight from using it, and so depended on Bryan's collations. He confesses that he had never read the Lives of Plutarch until he was on the verge of the grave (*in ora tumuli iam altero pede vacillans*), that he undertook the edition as task-work because of the *res angusta domi*, and finished it in the course of one summer. He describes with great *naïveté* his method of preparing the text for the press. Madame Reiske, his wife, read aloud from the Juntine edition, while he followed her with that of Bryan and noted down any variety of reading. He then re-read carefully his copy of Bryan, and after comparing the Aldine and Juntine readings with those of the Vulgate, selected which he thought best, or else substituted his own conjectural emendations and those of others, and in this state sent

the book to press. No wonder that the book disappointed expectation. Wytténbach, *praef. ad opp. morr.* p. cxxix, rightly censures his want of judgment and discrimination and the *sensus veri*. He was naturally of an unsettled disposition, and rather anxious to do much than to do well. Instead of thoroughly studying one author, ‘vagabatur per omnes; per festinationem omnia arripiebat; sana corrupta, obscura difficilia, corrigere tentabat, mutabat transponebat, demebat ad-debat de suo; et plane, ut alter Lucilius, *in hora saepe ducentas faciebat correctiones stans pede in uno.*’

The edition of the entire works by Hütten (Tübingen 1791—1805, 8vo. in 14 vols.) is a reprint of the text of Reiske with some corrections and emendations. The work was left incomplete, the promised index never having been issued.

The famous and learned Greek Diamant Koraës (Coray) published an edition of the *Lives* with notes (*σημειώσεις*) in Greek, the first volume forming the third of his ‘Ελληνική βιβλιοθήκη, Paris 1809—1815 in 6 vols. 8vo. This edition because of its engraved portraits has become so rare, that I was assured by the principal Paris booksellers that it would be impossible to obtain one at any price. After giving up the search in despair, I at last found a copy at a Cambridge bookseller’s.

George Henry Schaefer did not add to his reputation as a scholar by his edition with original and selected notes, Leipzig, 1820—21 in 9 vols. 8vo. and 1825—30 in 6 vols. 8vo.

It was left for Carl Sintenis to undertake an entire revision of the text of the *Lives* on true critical principles, and to do for them what had already been done by Daniel Wytténbach, the celebrated Leyden professor, a native of Berne in Switzerland, at the price of 30 years’ labour, for the *Moral Works* in his edition printed at the Clarendon Press, Oxford, in 14 vols. 8vo. 1795—1830. Sintenis had edited some single lives (*Aristides* and *Cato maior* 1830, *Themistokles* 1832, *Perikles* 1835, each with Latin notes) before his edition with a complete *lectionum varietas*, but without explanatory notes, appeared at Leipzig in 4 vols. 8vo. 1839—1846. He has since edited single *Lives* for the Haupt-Saupe series of

Classics (*Aristeides* and *Cato maior* 1848, *Agis* and *Cleomenes* 1850, *Themistokles* and *Perikles* 1851), with explanatory notes in German.

The edition of the whole works by Fr. Duebner and Doehner, which forms part of Didot's *Bibliotheca Scriptorum Graecorum*, 5 voll. imp. 8vo, Paris 1841—6, does not possess great critical value, though Duebner professes to have emended Wytenbach's text in more than 2000 instances.

A very useful edition of Select Biographies for school use with German notes has been issued by Otto Siefert and Frederick Blass (1859—1876). The following editions also of separate Lives by various scholars deserve notice:—

Alcibiades by J. C. F. Baehr, Heidelberg, 1822, 8vo.

Philopoemen, Flamininus, Pyrrhus by J. C. F. Baehr, 8vo. Leipzig, 1826.

Aemilius Paulus and Timoleon, by J. C. Held, 8vo. 1832.

M. Brutus, by A. S. Voegelin, 8vo. Zurich, 1833.

Agis and Cleomenes, by G. F. Schoemann, 8vo. Gryphiswald, 1839.

Phokion, by F. Kraner, 8vo, Leipzig, 1840.

Solon, by A. Westermann, 8vo, Brunswick, 1841.

Kimon, by A. Ekker, 8vo, Utrecht, 1843.

The text of the present edition is based upon an independent collation of *Fⁿ*; the latest edition of Sintenis (Teubner 1877), in which the Editor has shown himself less tolerant of obvious errors¹, and in which the punctuation has been corrected after that of Immanuel Bekker (B. Tauchnitz, 1869); and that of Blass (8vo. Leipzig, 1872).

Adolph Emperius, ‘homo, si vixisset diutius, multum Graecis scriptoribus profuturus, quem in gravibus mendis certa ratione tollendis nemo e recentioribus superavit aut aequavit’ (*Madvig*), in his *Opuscula* edited by F. G. Schneidewin (Göttingen, 8vo, 1847); Madvig himself in his *Adversaria* Vol. I p. 565 — p. 677; Cobet in his *variae Lectiones*, his *novae Lectiones*, his *Collectanea critica*, and the *Mnemosyne* (nova Series, Vol.

¹ Or, to use the words of Madvig *Adv. Crit.* I p. 565 ‘a prava mendorum patientia defensioneque ad sanas rationi parendum et ad Xylandri, Reiskii, Corais inventis utendum progressus factus est non exiguum.’

vi p. 118—p. 178); G. N. Bernardakis in his *Symbolae criticae et palaeographicae in Plutarchi Vitas et Moralia*, 8vo Lipsiae, 1879, have each made valuable contributions to the criticism of Plutarch. Cobet thinks that the best MSS are to be found in Italy, and speaks of one of the 10th century containing the first half of the *Lives*, which he examined only cursorily in the Medici Library at Florence.

TRANSLATIONS OF THE LIVES

The spirited and justly celebrated French translation by J. Amyot (Paris, 1599), was composed partly from the Latin version of 1470, partly from the Aldine Greek Text and partly from some ms to which the Translator had access. It was from this version and not from the original Greek, that Sir Thomas North made his famous translation (1579), to Shakespeare's study of which we owe his 'Antony and Cleopatra,' 'Coriolanus' and 'Julius Caesar.'

Dryden's version, as it is commonly called, was made by different hands and is of unequal merit. It was re-edited with corrections by A. H. Clough (1874). More correct than this as a translation, though not exempt from serious misapprehensions of the Greek Text, but inferior to it in style is the version by the two Langhorne brothers. Lastly, Mr Aubrey Stewart, late Fellow of Trinity College, Cambridge, has published one in 4 vols. (London, 1880—1881), as a complement to the thirteen *Roman Lives* translated by the late George Long.

B. Critical Notes

ABBREVIATIONS

- Bl = Blass
- Br = Bryan
- Co = Cobet
- Ko = Koraës
- Rk = Reiske
- Sch = Schaeferus
- Si = Sintenis

CHAPTER II

- 2 § 1. 11. λέγαν τρός αὐτόν, Φ^α.
 14. ἐς δει προ ἔστη Φ^α.
- § 2. 19. δῆλος ἡν ὑπερορῶν, Bl Si cum Φ^α et opt. codd.
 δῆλος ἡν οὐχ ὑπερορῶν vulgo, quod mirum esse intellexit Mad-
 vigius *Adv. Crit.* i p. 88 de puer disciplinarum et artium
 studioso, sc. οὐχ ὑπερορῶν *non contemnere*, addita praesertim
 causa, quod naturae confideret, quae ad contemptum tollen-
 dum nihil valeret, unde coniecit scripsisse Plutarchum δῆλος
 ἡν ὑπερερῶν.
- § 3. 28. ἀμύνεσθαι Co cum Φ^α probantibus Si Bl: vulgo.
 ἀμύνασθαι.
24. ἐπίσταται Si: ἐπίστατο Φ^α Bl.
- 3 § 5. 12. μὲν οὖν] οὖν om. Φ^α B.
- § 6. 26. τοῦ τὰ κοινά Rk.
28. παρωρμένας Si Bl: legebatur παρεωραμένας, unde
 παρεωρμένας Co Mnemos. N. S. Vol. vi p. 143 coll. varr.
 lectt. p. 160.
29. φαίνονται Φ^α unde φαίνωνται Si Bl: vulgo antea γέ-
 νωνται.

CHAPTER III

- 4 § 1. 8. κρατήσαι. δι' ἦν Si; κρατῆσαι δι' ἦν Bl.
 3. καὶ σφόδρα Φ^α.
 5. τὸς om. Φ^α.
 7. πρὸς Ἀριστεῖδην Co: τὸν Ἀρ. C.
 8. πορευόμενος Si contra codd.
 11. καλοῦ] κάλλους Φ^α. Kalou ex vita Arist. c. 2: Τηῖου
 vulgo, Τλου Φ^α.
 § 3. 28. pro ποτοὺς codex unus τόπους: Amiotus πόνους
 cum vett. aliquot codd.
- 5 § 4. 6. πόρρωθεν Φ^α Bl. cum Φ^α; πόρρωθεν ἵδη Si vulgo.

CHAPTER IV

- § 1. 8. μὲν om. Fⁿ.
 16. οἱ νησιῶται Bl cum Fⁿ; οἱ Αἰγαῖοι vulgo.
 § 3. 26. τὸ πέδιον μὲν Si Bl vulgo: τῷ πεζῷ μὲν Co.
 27. δόμοις Br: δομοῖς Fⁿ oodd.
 1. ἀντοῦ Fⁿ.
 3. ὑπαράστοιν Fⁿ.
 4. τῶν Ἀθηναίων Si.
 § 4. 6. τοῦ πολιτεύματος τὸ καθαρὸν Fⁿ.
 § 5. 14. Μαρδόνιος Fⁿ.
 16. αὐτοῖς vulgo: αὐτοὺς anonymous.

6

CHAPTER V

- § 1. 17. σύντογον Bl Si cum Fⁿ: vulgo εἴτενον.
 20. ἀφθόνου οὐ Fⁿ per dittographiam.
 § 2. 1. παρ' αὐτῷ Bl: παρ' αὐτῷ Si Fⁿ.
 2. πρὸς αὐτὸν Si cum Fⁿ: πρὸς αὐτὸν Bl.
 § 3. 14. καὶ Φρόνιχος Fⁿ.
 § 4. 18. ὡς που Bl cum Fⁿ: ὡστε που Si vulgo.
 19. κείον ACFⁿ: Κέον Xylander.
 21. ἀν γένουτο Si Bl cum Fⁿ: ἀν ἐγένετο vulgo.

7

CHAPTER VI

- § 1. 5. τὸν Εὐφημίδου δημαγωγόν, ὄντα Fⁿ.
 6. τῇ ψυχῇ Fⁿ Bl; τὴν ψυχὴν Si. Cf. 16, 2, Peric.
 III 2.
 § 2. 19. καὶ παιδας αὐτοῦ ut emblema delet Cobetus L c.,
 ne perinepte bis idem dicatur.

8

CHAPTER VII

- § 1. 2. προκυδνυευσύντων Bl S: κινδυνευσόντων Fⁿ.

9

- § 2. 11. δροῦ τι om. **Fⁿ** : τι solum om. **C.**
 17. διὸ καὶ δοκεῖ Bl cum **Fⁿ** : διόπερ δοκεῖ Si vulgo.
 20. ἀνδρεῖς Si Bl : ἀνδρία **Fⁿ**.
 § 3. 29. ἀλκήν Si Bl : ἀρχήν **Fⁿ**.
- 10 § 4. 2. πελαγῶντα **Fⁿ**.
 9. τριηρίτας Si e coni. : vulgo πολίτας.
 18. pro ὑποθεὶς **Fⁿ** habet e priore linea εἰσέπεμψεν, non εἰσέπεμψθεις ut notat Sintenis.
 16. πρὸς τοὺς παρόντας **Fⁿ** Bl; πρὸς τοὺς πολίτας Si vulgo.

CHAPTER VIII

- 11 § 2. 3. φίενναν **Fⁿ**.
 4. κρηπίδα **Fⁿ**.
 6. Ἐσταίαν **Fⁿ**.
 7. ἀνταίρει Bl cum **Fⁿ** : ἀντιτείνει Si vulgo.
 8. Φιλοκτήτην **Fⁿ**.
 10. περὶ αὐτὸν **Fⁿ** : περὶ αὐτὸν Rk: περὶ αὐτῷ Si.
 § 3. 18. Ἀσίας **Fⁿ** Bl Ko; Ἀσίης Si vulgo.
 17. ναυμαχίᾳ Bl e coni.; ναυμαχίῃ vulgo.

CHAPTER IX

- § 1. 24. τὰ περὶ Θερμοπύλας...ἀπαγγέλλοντων πυθόμενοι Bl e coni.; ἀπαγγέλλοντων **Fⁿ**; τῶν περὶ Θερμοπύλας ἀπαγγελθέντων πυθόμενοι Si vulgo, quod ita probat Cobetus ut πυθόμενοι tamquam interpolatum deleri velit.
- 12 4. λίθων αὐτῶν **Fⁿ**.
 5. ναυλόχια **Fⁿ** Bl; ναύλοχα Si vulgo.
 11. συνταράξειν **Fⁿ**.
 12. τοὺς βαρβάρους Bl e coni. Heldii: τοὺς βαρβάρους **Fⁿ** Si vulgo.
 17. θύλασσαν **Fⁿ**.

§ 3. 24. μάχεσθαι μὲν οὖν Φ^α Bl; μάχεσθαι μὲν γὰρ Si vulgo.

25. οὐδὲ διενοοῦντο *ne cogitabant quidem* Co.

27. ἐμβῆγαι Ko cum codd. nonnullis; ἐμφῦναι Bl Si. οἱ πολλοὶ Bl Si Rk: δπερ οἱ πολλοὶ Φ^α vulgo.

29. θεῶν τε] θεῶν Φ^α. τήρια] ἡρῶα Φ^α.

CHAPTER X

§ 1. 6. ἀφανῆς δὲ Φ^α, unde Blassius suspicatur excidisse 13 nonnulla, ex Herodoto viii 41 supplenda: λέγουσι 'Αθηναῖς δύοιν μέγαν φύλακον τῆς ἀκροπόλιος ἐνισιτᾶσθαι ἐν τῷ Ιερῷ.

10. λόγον διαδόντος Co e coni.

11. θάλασσαν Φ^α.

14. οὐδὲ] οὔτε Φ^α. ἀνακαλεῖν Φ^α Bl; καλεῖν Si vulgo.

18. 'Αθηνέων e coni. Bl; male Sintenis 'Αθηνάων; 'Αθηναῖων vulgo: 'Αθηνᾶ τῇ a secunda manu Φ^α unde suspicor legendum καταβέσθαι τῇ 'Αθηνέων μεδεόσῃ. Cf. Arist. Eq. 763.

§ 3. 23. γονέας καὶ γυναῖκας] 'cur parentes, quos multi superstites non habebant, nominantur, omissis liberis quorum aetatis proxima cura erat? Videtur scribendum γενέας, quae vox etsi (inde a Polybio) de uxoribus liberisque dicatur, tamen maxime ad liberos spectat (γενέας ἔχειν Polyb. xx 6).' Madvig *Adv.* i p. 572.

§ 3. 29. pro δημοσίων quod vulgatur ἐν τῷ δημοσίῳ *in aerario* scribendum censet Cobetus: χρήματα enim δημόσια esse quae aerario debeantur, praesertim ex bonis publicatis.

§ 3. 2. δέκτῳ δραχμῇ post πορίσασαν transposuit Si 14 praepter necessitatē.

6. τὸν Γοργόνειον Φ^α; quod si servetur, Reiskius monet subaudiendum esse ὅμφαλον, *umbonem in scuto*; ad τὸ Γοργόνειον autem τὸ πρόσωπον.

§ 5. 18. γενέας Sintenis e coni. et sic Φ^α: legebatur γονέας.

15. δάκρυα γυναικέν καὶ τέκνων πέριβολάς Κο.
 16. πολλοί μὲν οἱ διὰ Bl cum F^o; πολλοί μὲν διὰ Si vulgo.
 26. καὶ καλούμενον ἄχρι νῦν F^o.

CHAPTER XI

- § 1. 28. καὶ δητὶ Κο.
15 § 1. 4. ἐπὶ χρόνον Co.
 § 2. 8. παρὰ τὸν κίνδυνον Co.
 9. ἀπάλεν Co.
 16. ἐπαιρομένου F^o.
 20. ἀνήγειρ αὐθεῖς ἐπὶ τὸν λόγον redit ad orationem aut
 ἀνήγειρ αὐτὸς κτλ. legendum censem Madvig.
 § 3. 22. θιδάσκοι F^o Bl; θιδάσκα Si. ἑγκαταλείπειν F^o.
 28. τριακόσιαι F^o. νῦν μὲν ἡμέν ΔF^o.
16 § 4. 5. ἀπολείποντες οἴχονται F^o Si; ἀπολιπόντες οἴ-
 χωνται Bl.

CHAPTER XII

- § 1. 12. ἀναθεν in marginem relegandum esse censem Cobetus.
 16. παρεσκευάζοντο ὡς ναυμαχήσοντες Cobetus.
 27. τοῦ τόπου: τῶν τόπων F^o. τῶν στεγωτῶν ΔC vulgo:
 τῶν στενῶν coniecturam Reiskii praestat F^o.
 29. ἔβούλετο F^o.
17 § 2. 7. φυγὴν F^o.
 10. ‘inauditum τέλος ἐκφέρειν πρός τινα de imperando et
 decreto mittendo. Scribendum videtur: δελτούς εὐθὺς ἐξέφερε
 tabellas et tesserae circummisit.’ Madvig. The expression is
 certainly unusual, but is paralleled by a passage from Coriol.
 quoted in explanatory note. Some suspicion however is thrown
 on the genuineness of the expression by the fact of the words
 τέλος being omitted in F^o.

18. περιβάλλεσθαι Φ^a.

29. Τηνία Palmer : Τενεδία Φ^a codd.

CHAPTER XIII

§ 1. 5. τὸν Ἡράκλεον Φ ^a .	18
§ 2. 16. Σανδανίκης Φ ^a .	
21. καθιερώσαι Φ ^a codd., καθιερέσσαι Si coll. Arist. c. 9.	
1. τελεσθῆναι Φ ^a .	19
6. τραγῳδίᾳ ut emblema delet Cobetus V. L. p. 371.	

CHAPTER XIV

§ 1. 8. Εἴρηται—χλίας νεῶν ἡγε πλήθος Φ ^a , ὑπέρκομπτος τάχαις Φ ^a .	
§ 2. 12. ἀπὸ καταστρόματος ΔΑΓΦ ^a recte, ut opinor.	
15. συνιδὼν] εἰδὼς Φ ^a .	
18. δὲ ἐκ πελάγους Φ ^a .	
20. τὰς Ἑλληνικὰ μὲν Φ ^a .—πτενεῖς ΟΙΦ ^a : διλιτενεῖς Br.	
26. δτὶ τ' ἥγι (δτὶ ἥγι Φ ^a) κατ' ἔκεινον...καὶ ὁσπερ ἀπὸ ^{τεχόντων} Bl cum Φ ^a ; καὶ δτὶ κατ' ἔκεινον...ὅσπερ ἀπὸ τ. Si.	
28. ἐτοξένερο, non, ut Si notat, ἐτόξενο Φ ^a .	
30. τε om. Φ ^a .	
§ 3. 2. Παιάνιες Bl e coni., Πεδιεῖς v. Πελιεῖς Φ ^a , 20 Παραιεῖς olim coni. Si.	
4. αὐτῶν Bl : αὐτῶν Si.	

CHAPTER XV

§ 1. 16. φάντασματα Bl cum Φ ^a : φάσματα Si.	
18. δπ' Αιγίνης ἀνατενεῖς τὰς χειρας ἐπεχόντων Bl e coni. ; ἀνατενεῖς τὰς χ. ἐπεχόντων Φ ^a ; δπ' Αιγίνης τὰς χειρας ἀνε- χόντων Si vulgo.	
27. ὁσπερ εἱρηκε Φ ^a .	
29. ἐνάλιον] ἐν ἀλλο Φ ^a .	

20. ἀνδρίᾳ Φ^α.
 21. 2. τῇ Θεμιστοκλέους Bl cum Φ^α; Θεμιστοκλέους Si.

CHAPTER XVI

- § 1. 18. ἔλαν Φ^α.
 § 2. 27. ἐπεμπε Φ^α.
 29. ὄνόματι Bl cum Φ^α: ὄνομα Si. Vide ad 6, 1.
 22. § 3. 4. αὐτοῦ Φ^α.
 11. Πλαταιεῦσιν ΑΒ vulgo; Πλαταιάσιν correxit Koraüs.

CHAPTER XVII

- § 2. 21. ἀνδρίας Φ^α.
 23. πρῶτον Φ^α.
 24—5. καὶ—συνεξέπεμψαν om. Φ^α.

CHAPTER XVIII

23. § 1. 3. φιλοτιμώτατος Φ^α.—δεῖ] δῆ] Φ^α.
 7. ἀλλ' ἐπανεβάλλετο Φ^α: ἀλλὰ πᾶν ἀνεβάλλετο Si.
 13. περικείμενα ΟΓ^α.
 § 2. 19. ἀμφότεροι δ' ὅμοι Bl cum Φ^α: ἀμφότεροι δ' δῆμα Si.
 24. § 3. 2. ὑστέραν Φ^α.
 § 4. τῷ δὲ οὐκέτι φύσιστης τῆς μητρὸς καὶ δι' ἐκείνου αὐτῷ Φ^α.

CHAPTER XIX

- § 1. 23. ἐκδιευστεν Φ^α.
 25. § 3. 14. τὸν αὐτοῖς Ποσειδῶνα om. Φ^α,
 15. δ Θεμιστοκλῆς Φ^α.
 16. ὥσπερ—φῆσι Bl cum Φ^α: ώς—λέγει Si.
 17. προσέμιξεν Φ^α vulgo: προσέμιξεν Xy.
 18. εἰς pro καὶ habet Φ^α.

CHAPTER XX

§ 1. 28. δυνάμεως διενοήθη Φ^α.

§ 1. 4. μόνφ φράσαι vulgo : φράσαι μόνφ cum uno codice 26
Si.

8. προελθών Bl cum Φ^α; παρελθών Si.

§ 2. 14. ἀπέργηνται Φ^α.

20. πυθαγόρων Φ^α.

22. πλείσται Φ^α.

27. προσήγοντο Φ^α: aut προσήγον άltius atque aĺtius prover-
hebant cum C, aut προσήγοντο ad se propius adducebant, sibi
artius devinciebant legendum censem Rk.

CHAPTER XXI

§ 2. 14. ἀλλ' εἰ τὸ γε Ξάνθ.ππον αἰνέσταις Φ^α ceteris 27
omissis.

15. Ἀριστε(δην) ΑΓΕΦ^α.

17. ἔλθειν [ενα λῶστον] δις τῇλθε λεκτὸς ἐπὶ Θεμιστοκλέα
δ' ἥχθαρε Φ^α.

20. ἀργυρίοιστι sum codd. Bl: ἀργυρίοις Si cum Hermanno.
κυβαλικοῖστι Bl cum Bergkio; κυμβαλικοῖσι Φ^α; σκυ-
βαλικοῖσι vulgo; σκυβαλικοῖσι Si cum Hermanno. βασιλ-
κοῖσι Ko (Vol. 6 p. 479). κατάγαγ' Bl; κατήγαγεν Φ^α; κατάγεν Si
vulgo. πατρίδ^ε Bl: πατρίδα vulgo; πάτραν Si cum Hermanno.

21. ἐπ' ὅλεθρον Φ^α.

24. διώκων Φ^α.

26. ἀργυρίου δὲ ὑπόπλεος Φ^α. δὲ πανδόκειν γλοιώσ...παρ-
έχειν Bl ex Hermanni coni.; δ' ἐπανδόκειν γελοιώσ...παρέχων
Si vulgo.

28. μὴ ἄφει Θεμιστοκλῆ^τ ἵκεσθαι Blaydes ad Aristoph.
Lysistr. v 891.

§ 3. 30. βλασφημίᾳ κέχρηται Φ^α.

2. τῇ δρχῇ Φ^α.

3. τοῦδε μέλεος Φ^α.

6. λέγεται δ' Bl cum Fⁿ: λέγεται δ' ὁ Τυμοκρέων Si vulgo.
9. μοῦνος Bl Si: μόνος Ahrens; μοῦνος δς G. Hermann.
10. ὄρκιατόμα Bergk Bl; ὄρκιατομέ Si; ὄρκια τομῆ Fⁿ.
12. κούκ Bl cum Hermanno : οὐκ Si vulgo.

CHAPTER XXII

- § 1. 17. μημονευομένων Fⁿ.
 18. ἀπεῖν Bl cum Fⁿ: εἰπεν vulgo Si.
29 § 2. 8. καλούσσοντες Fⁿ.

CHAPTER XXIII

- § 1. 15. Δεοβάστης Bl Co. Ἀλκμέωνος Cobet: Ἀλκμα-
 εωνος Bl vulgo.
 16. Ἀγρυπλήθεν Bl Co: Ἀγρυπλῆθεν Si vulgo.
 § 2. 20. πολιτείας vulgo: πόλεως Cobet coll. v 11.
 21. ἰθαρρήσεν Fⁿ.
 22. γράμματα Bl cum Fⁿ; τὰ γράμματα Si.
 25. ἀπεργέφατο Fⁿ.
 27. πρὸς οὐδένα τοὺς λόγους δὲ Fⁿ.
30 § 3. 8. ἔγραφεν, ὡς ἄρχεν μὲν αἰεὶ Fⁿ vulgo: ἔγραφεν
 primus tollendum vidit Madvigius, 'ut haec omnia sint The-
 mistoclis δὲ γραμμάτων ἀπολογουμένου. Defendebat enim
 se, cui hoc ipsum obiceretur, quod imperio parere nesciret,
 non fuisse se Graeciamque domino barbaro venditum.'
 10. βαρβάροις αὐτὸν οἰδὲ πολεμοῖς Fⁿ: βαρβάροις καὶ
 πολεμοῖς αὐτὸν Si vulgo.
 13. ἐνάγεν Br Bl cum Fⁿ C; ἐνάγεν vulgo libri: ἐγεν
 Ko Si.

CHAPTER XXIV

- 31** § 3. 21. ἀποτριψαμένον cum Fⁿ Bl; ἀποστρεψαμένον
 Si vulgo.

CHAPTER XXV

§ 1. 27—9. πολυτελῶς—σκῆνην om. F^a.

20. καὶ πλεῦσαί φησιν αὐτὸν Bl e Benseleri coni.: φησὶν
καὶ πλεῦσαι αὐτὸν Si vulgo: φησὶν ἐκπλεῦσαι Madvig.

4. Θάσον (sic) F^a.

32

CHAPTER XXVI

§ 1. 20. παραφυλάττοντας αὐτὸν λαβεῖν Bl vulgo: παρα-
φύλαττοντας αὐτὸν Cobet coll. Timoleon c. 19 δεδιότες τὰς
Καρχηδονίων τριήρες αἱ παρεφύλαττον αὐτούς, sed tu cf.
Eumen. c. 18, 6 αὐτὸν παραφυλάττοντας ἀνελεῖν, εἰ
γίνουστο καιρός.

3. μέτρῳ Si.

5. κατακοιμθεῖς F^a.

10. κηρυκίου F^a.

14. τοιόνδε F^a: τοιοῦτον Si.

21. σκηναῖς Bl post Madvigium, ipsae enim feminae
erant περιπέφραγμαν: σκηνᾶς F^a vulgo.

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CHAPTER XXVII

§ 1. 1. Εὔφορος F^a.

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3. τὸν om. F^a.

6. συντεταγμένοις Bl: συνταττομένοις Si: καὶ περ οὐδὲ
αὐτὸς—συντεταγμένος F^a.

10. περὶ πραγμάτων μεγάλων Bl cum F^a: περὶ μεγίστων
πραγμάτων Si vulgo.

18. τοῦ πάντα F^a.

24. ἡγῷ F^a.

29. ξεται F^a.

1. σε om. F^a.

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2. οὐκ δύ F^a.

3. Ἀρτίθανε om. F^a.

6. αἰρετικῆς F^a.

CHAPTER XXVIII

- 36 § 1. 12. εἰπέντεν Φ^α.
 16. γεγενημένης Φ^α: γενομένης Si.
 17. τὰ οἰκεῖα Φ^α: τὰ οἰκεῖα Si.
 § 3. 4. τοὺς om. Φ^α.
 10. ἐκβοήσας Φ^α.

CHAPTER XXIX

- § 1. 12. ἀμα] μιάρ Φ^α.
 13. οὐδὲν ἀπίζοντα Φ^α.
 14. ἐπὶ θύραις ἔγγρις Φ^α: ἐπὶ θύραις Si vulgo.
 15. παριόντος Bl e coni.; παρόντος Si vulgo.
 23. θιακόσια τάλαντα διφελαν ἐφησεν αὐτῷ Φ^α.
 37 § 2. 10. ἐν om. Φ^α.
 § 3. 12. οὐδὲ γάρ Φ^α Bl; οὐδὲν γάρ Si.
 38 § 4. 1. πρὸς ἵκαστον Rk e coni.; ἵκαστον Φ^α vulgo.
 4. τόπῃ Φ^α.

CHAPTER XXX

17. κώμη Bl cum Φ^α; πόλει Si vulgo.
 29. ἐκπέισαντες Φ^α, quam lectionem nemo antea memoravit: ἐκπεισάντες Si Bl vulgo.

CHAPTER XXXI

- 39 § 1. 12. εἴθε καὶ Bl vulgo, ἐν δὲ καὶ Rk e coni., εἴθε δὲ Koraës Si, εἴθε δὲ καὶ ipse scripsi e coni.
 40 § 3. 8. ἐπέτρεψεν Φ^α, quod praetulit Reiskius, eo sensu quo postmodum creberrime fuit usurpatum a scriptoribus declinantis graecitatis, sc. adhortandi, impellendi, instigandi. ἐπέτρεψαν Ko.
 9. καλύσιν vulgo: κολοσίαν Bl e coni.
 17. ἄλλους τε] ἄλλως τε Rk, 'cum aliis de causis, tum quod excellentes tum essent imperatores.'
 28. καὶ ἡγεμονίας om. Φ^α.

CHAPTER XXXII

- § 1. 4. τοῦ] τῆς Fⁿ. 41
 5. κλεόφατον Fⁿ.
 11. μνασιππολέμην Fⁿ.
 14. Νικόδημος Fⁿ.
 § 2. 21. ἐν om. Fⁿ.
 25. δ...πάθος, οὐδ' ἀν Bl e coni.; δ (δ Fⁿ) τε Φυλ.—πάθος,
 δ οὐδ' ἀν vulgo.
 § 3. 5. τῆς κρηπῆς Fⁿ. τὸ ἐπ' αὐτῇ Koraës Bl; τὸ περὶ 42
 αὐτῇν Si vulgo.
 11. ἐκπλέοντας τούς τ' εἰσπλέοντας Fⁿ; τοὺς ἐκπλέοντας
 τ' Bekkerus.
 12. ἄμιλλ' ή post Porsonum Cobetus et Meineke: ἄμιλλαι
 (sc. ὡσι vel γίγνωνται) Rk; ἄμιλλα Si vulgo.

ADDENDA ET CORRIGENDA

P. 88, c. VIII § 2, l. 1, 2, for 'comprehended' read 'was aware of.'

P. 97, c. xi § 2, l. 14. $\beta\alpha\beta\delta\zeta\sigma\omega\tau$, = $\beta\alpha\beta\delta\zeta\sigma\omega\tau$ 'strike with a rod.' In Plutarch's time this word had come to signify 'to strike with the palm of the hand,' as is proved by the Rev. Dr. F. Field p. 71 *Notes on select passages of the Greek Testament*, Oxford, 8vo, 1881, where he doubts whether any instance can be found later than Herodotus of its older meaning = $\beta\alpha\beta\delta\zeta\epsilon\tau$. The passage in which it occurs is an anecdote from Herodotus, which will account for the use of the verb in this sense.

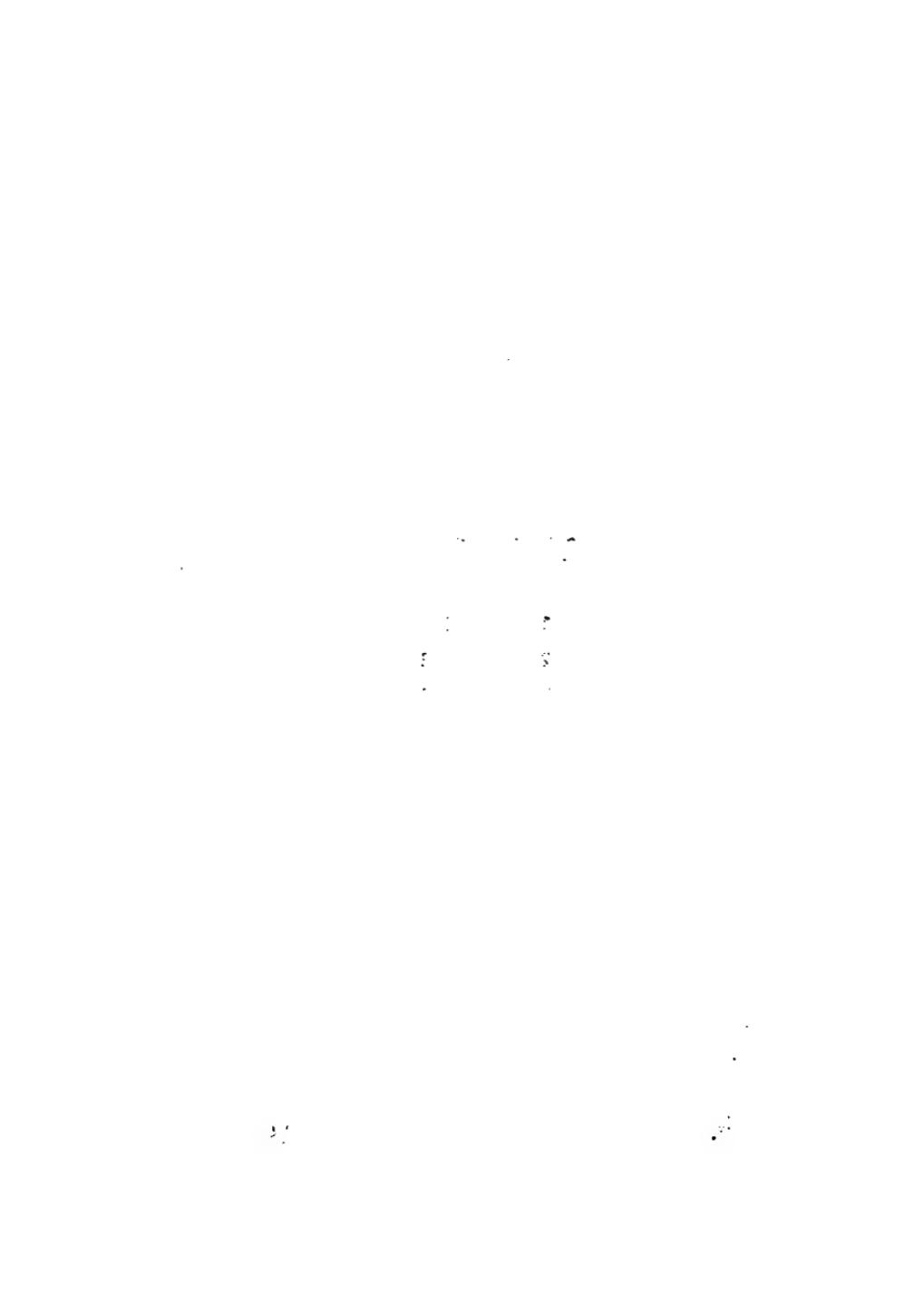
P. 135, c. xxi § 2, l. 14. Cf. St Paul, Romans xiv 10, σὺ
δὲ τί κοινεῖς...; καὶ σὺ τί ἔκουσθεντ;

P. 189, c. xxx § 2, l. 26. τῶν ἀπαγχομένων καὶ καθαιρέθεντων. Dr Frederic Field understands this to mean 'of those who have hanged themselves and been taken down,' rather than 'such as have been strangled or otherwise put to death.' (*Langhorne*s).

P. 143, c. xxiii § 3, l. 13. To the examples of this use of ἀνάγειν add St Luke, Gospel, xxii 66 καὶ ἀνήγαγον αὐτὸν εἰς τὸ συνέδριον ἐντύπων, quoted by Dr Field l. c. p. 57, which that eminent veteran scholar properly translates 'they brought him up before their council,' comparing Acts xii 4; 2 Macc. vi 10, δύο γὰρ γυναῖκες ἀνήχθησαν (for having circumcised their children), Lucian, ver. hist. II 6 ἀναχθέντες ὡς τὸν βασιλέα, Appian Bell. Civ. I. 60 καὶ τὸν ἐντυχόντα νηπιονεύει κτείνεις ἡ ἀνάγειν ἐπὶ τοὺς ὑπάρους. The Revisers, following Tischendorf and Hort-Westcott, have adopted the less difficult reading ἀπήγαγον, abduxerunt, 'they led him away.'

INDICES

- 1 GREEK
- 2 MATTERS
- 3 AUTHORS



INDEX I GREEK.

N.B. The first of the two figures (in larger type) denotes the chapter, the second (in smaller type) the section in which the note occurs

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 22 2; 'in the time of' 29 4
 ἐφὶ ηὐχίας 16 2; ἐπὶ τινὶ
 'because of' 2 6, 7 3, 24
 3; ἐπὶ μηδεσμῷ φυγῆν 21 3;
 ἐπὶ (after) πᾶσι τετάχθαι 9
 1; 'at the mercy of' 20 2;
 'on condition of,' ἐπὶ χρή-
 μασιν 21 2; ἐπὶ χρόνῳ 11 1;
 ἐπὶ διμόθερα 2 5; ἐπὶ πολλὰ
 κινεῖν τινα 3 2
 ἐπιγράφεσθαι δυομά 19 1
 ἐπιδεικνύναι 2 6, 17 2
 ἐπίδοξος, 'expected' not 'ex-
 pecting' 6 1
 ἐπιεικῆς 18 4
 ἐπιέναι obire 12 3

- ἐπιθεῖσεν 28 2
 ἐπιτρύπτειν τινα στὸ ἐπὶ την 26
 1; ἐπιτρυχθεὶς 29 1
 ἐπικλάν 10 5 [cf. Plat. Phaed.
 c. 66 p. 117 D οὐδένα διτίνα
 οὐ κατέκλασε τῷ παρό-
 των]
 ἐπικρατεῖν 20 1
 ἐπικίττειν τινι 30 2
 ἐπισοειν τινι τι intentare ali-
 quid quod terrorem ei incu-
 tiat 4 2
 ἐπισημον 8 1
 ἐπισκευάζειν 1 3
 ἐπισκήττειν 9 1
 ἐπιστάτη τὸ δάτων 31 1
 ἐπιστρέψιν τὸν λόγον ἐπὶ την
 11 3; ἐπιστρέφειν τινα *seq.*
 infin. 31 3
 ἐπιτηδὲς 19 1
 ἐπιτήδευμα τοιεῖσθαι 2 4
 ἐπιτιθέναι: ἐπιθέναι τῷ βίῳ
 τὴν τελευτὴν πρέπουσαν 31
 4
 ἐπιτρέπειν *instigate* 31 3
 ἐπιφάνεια θεοῦ 30 2
 ἐπιφανῆς) (ἀφανῆς, *nobilis, il-*
lustris loco natus (Pyrrh. 5,
 14, 34, Cam. 15, Pomp. 14,
 Lycurg. 31, Arist. 9, 19)
 1 1; 5 2; ἐπιφανῆ γράμ-
 ματα 'a conspicuous in-
 scriptio' 9 1
 ἐπιφέρειν αἰτίαν τινι 31 1
 ἐπιφρεσθαι 14 2
 ἐραστῆς πράξεων μεγάλων 3 3
 ἐρίζειν περὶ τινος 14 2
 ἐρμηνεύειν 28 1
 θετι 'it is possible' 27 2
 θετι 'besides' 10 3, 29 1
 εὖ πάσχειν ὑπὸ τινος 22 1; εὖ
 γεγονέναι 1 2
 εὐδία 18 2
 εὐθμερεῖν 31 4
 εὐμενῶς διαλλάγτεσθαι 28 1
 εὐπορεῖν ἐφοδιῶν 10 4
 εὐφύλα τῷν λιμένων 19 2
 ἐφήμερον φάρμακον 31 4
- ἐφίεμαι 3 1
 ἐφικτὸς 31 3
 ἔχειν αἰτίαν 21 3; δάξαν 18 2;
 έθος 4 1; θεον 10 5; πιστώ
 12 3; σκονδὴν 5 3; φθόρον
 29 2; φλογικαν 5 3; διωλως
 2 6; δυσταραγήτως 29 4;
 δρυγὴ ἔχει τινα 9 2; ἐνροια καὶ
 δέος ἐσχειν αὐτοὺς 11 4; ἔχω
 'with' 14 2
 ἔχθρας λίνειν 24 1
- Z
- ἥγηλωτῆς 2 4
 (ἐκ) ζημιᾶς 31 1
- H
- ἡ καὶ 4 2
 ἡθοκούσι 2 2
 ἡλικία: οἱ ἐν ἡλικίᾳ 10 2; παρ-
 ἡλικίαν 2 2
 ἡμέρα μεθ' ἡμέραν 7 4
 ἡρακ 9 3
 ἡρωϊκὸς 22 2
 ἡπτων χρημάτων 6 1
- Θ
- θαρασθεῖν 24 3; οἱ θαραστούμενοι
 22 1
 θεοφροστος 26 1
 Θρησσα 1 1
 θυμομαχεῖν 16 1
 θυμός: θυμῷ 12 3
 θύρα: οἱ ἐπὶ θύραις 26 3]
- I
- "Ιακχος δι μυστικός 15 1
 ιδιος 'peculiar' 18 4, 24 2
 ιδιώτης 27 3
 ιερός: ιερὰ ναῦς 7 4
 ιπποι διγωνισται 25 1
 Ισθμοι 21 2 (ex Timooreonte)
 ιστορεῖν 'to record' 3 2, 7 3,
 19 1, 24 3, 25 1, 27 1
 ιταριώς 3 1

K

καθάπτεσθαι 21 2
 καθαρός: τὸ καθαρὸν τοῦ πολιτεό-
 ματος 4 4
 καθιστάναι τινὰ εἰς ἀναγκήν 16
 Ι
 καθορᾶν cernere 15 1
 καὶ introducing a statement
 emphatically 4 1; διὸ καὶ
 7 2, 10 2; γέ καὶ 4 2; καὶ
 connecting genus with spe-
 cies 7 2; καὶ μάλιστα 12 1
 κανονομέσθαι 29 1
 κανονιμίας ἐπιφέρειν 8 2
 καίτοι quātam ‘and yet’
 8 2, 10 5
 κακοῦν τὸ βαρβαρικόν 9 1
 καλοκαγαθίκος 3 2
 καλός: ἐν καλῷ 32 3
 κάμπτειν 32 3
 Καρύη ‘a Carian woman’ 1 2
 καρχήτων 12 1
 κατὰ εἰ regione ‘opposite’ 14 2,
 32 3; κατὰ μέρος ‘in detail’
 25 2, 18 1; κατὰ μικρὸν
 ‘little by little’ 4 3, 15 1;
 κατὰ τινὰ εἶναι 29 1; καθ’
 ἡμᾶς nostrā aetate 22 2; καθ’
 ἥσυχαν 12 2; κατὰ στόμα 7 3
 καταβάλλειν 31 3
 καταβάλλειν ‘to pay down’
 24 1
 καταβιβάζειν 4 3
 καταβάναι τίνος ‘to denounce’
 7 5, 23 3
 κατάγειν ab exilio reducere 14
 2; 17 2; 21 2
 καταδίκη 21 3
 καταδύναι 26 3
 καταρέων εἰς 20 1
 κατακαλεῖσθαι 13 2
 καταλέναι πόλεμον 6 2
 καταμηνύειν 23 2
 καταπλέων 26 1
 καταπραύνειν τινὰ τῆς δρυῆς 31
 2
 κατάρξασθαι 13 2

κατάρσεις ἀναγκαῖαι 9 2
 κατάργησις 2 5
 κατασκευάζειν γαλῷ 30 2
 κατασκευὴ τῶν λεπῶν 30 1
 κατασκήπτειν, said of a cloud,
 15 1
 καταστασιάζειν 5 4; καταστα-
 σιάσθαι 11 1
 κατανήλεσθαι 30 1
 καταφανῆς 23 2
 καταψεύδεσθαι τινος πρὸς τινα
 25 2; κατεψεύσθαι αὐτῷ 2 6
 κατέρχεσθαι redire ex fuga s.
 exilio 11 1; κατελθεῖν 21 2
 κατεύχεσθαι 28 3
 κατέχειν τὴν θάλασσαν 4 1
 κατῆφεια 9 2
 κατοψήμενος 19 1
 Κέος 3 2
 κεῖσθαι as perf. pass. of τί-
 θημι 18 1; κεῖσθαι=πεπτω-
 κέναι 9 1
 κελευστῆς ‘a boatswain’ 19 3
 Κέρατα τὰ 18 1
 κερδαίκειν ἀπὸ παντὸς 26 1
 κεφαλὴ λεωτῶν 30 1
 κήδεσθαι τινος 16 3
 κηρυκέion, τὸ 26 2
 κινέων ἐπὶ πολλὰ τὸν δῆμον 3 2;
 κ. ἀγῶνα καὶ τάθος 32 2;
 κ. δυνάμεις 31 3
 κινητής 3 2
 κίταρις, ἡ 29 3
 κοινός: τὰ κοινὰ πράγτειν 2 6
 κόλονειν 18 2, 22 2, 31 3 (?)
 κόλουρις 21 3
 κοσμεῖν γραφᾶς 1 3
 κονφιαμόδιος φθόνον 22 2
 κρατεῖν τῶν παρόδων 9 1; κρα-
 τεῖν τινος ‘to prevail over’;
 κρ. τῇ γνώμῃ 10 2; κρ. τῷ
 χειροτοկῷ 6 1
 κρέδη 21 2 (ex Timoer.)
 κρηπὶς εὐμεγέθης 32 3; κρηπῖδα
 βάλλεσθαι 8 2
 κρίνειν ‘to bring to trial’ 24
 3; ‘to give a decision’ 24 1
 κρητῆς ‘a referee’ 5 4, 24 1

κροκίζειν 8 2
 κυβαλικός 21 2 (ex Timocreonite)
 κυβερνήτης 19 3
 κύκλωσις 12 3
 κυροῦσθαι: κυρωθῆναι 10 3
 κωλύειν with inf. 25 1; with
 participle 31 3

Λ

λαμβάνειν: ἀρχήν λαβεῖν 8 2;
 λαμβάνειν σημεῖον 10 1; λα-
 βένθας ($\gamma\eta\varsigma$) to reach (shore)
 25 2
 λαμπτρός: λαμπτρὰ τράπεζα 29 4;
 λαμπτρὸν πνεῦμα 14 2; λαμ-
 πτρὸς τάφος 32 2
 λαμπρότης 5 2; λαμπρότητες
 8 1
 δειψάνα, τὰ 32 2
 λεώφορος, ἡ 'the high-way'
 80 1
 λιτοδυμένη 10 5
 λογισμῷ 23 2
 λόγον διδόναι 10 1; λ. διαδιδόναι
 19 2; λόγοι μαγικοὶ 29 3
 λύειν τὸ ξύδημα 16 1
 λυτηρός 22 1
 λύραν ἀρμόσθαι 2 3

Μ

μαγικοὶ λόγοι 29 3
 μακαρίζειν διατὸν τρόπος τυα 28
 3
 μαλακός τῇ ψυχῇ 6 1
 Μαραθῶνι 8 3 (add Dem. adv.
 Aristocr. p. 686, 5, de falsa
 leg. p. 441 οἱ Μαραθῶνι καὶ
 Σαλαμῖνι)
 μάρτυρά τινα θέσθαι 28 2
 μάχαιρα 11 4
 μέγα φρονεῖν τινι for ἐπὶ τινι
 9 1
 μεγίστη λκεστα 24 3
 μεθιστάναι 5 4; 9 1
 μεθόρον 18 1
 μειρακιάδης 8 2
 μελετᾶν 2 1; de citharcedo 5
 2

μελλήσεις ἔμποιεῖν 16 3
 μὲν—δε 'both—and' 15 1
 μὲν οὖν 2 4, 7 4, 9 3, 17 1,
 18 4, 20 1
 μέντοι 8 1; correlative to μὲν
 1 1
 μετὰ τὴν ἀνάγκην 'making a
 merit of necessity' 12 3;
 μετὰ δοσφαλεῖας 3 2; μεθ' ἤπε-
 ραν 7 4
 μετατάξασθαι πρὸς τινα 9 1
 μετατιθέναι τὴν γράμμην 20 2
 μετέχειν γένους 1 3
 μετόπωρον 10 3
 μέτριος=ἀγαθός, δίκαιος 5 4
 μέτρῳ 26 1
 μέχρις 'whilst' 16 3
 μὴ ὥραν γενέσθαι 21 2
 μὴ for οὐ with participles not
 expressing condition 9 3;
 23 3 (Madvig Gr. Synt. § 207,
 Rem. 2)
 μηδεῖς for οὐδεῖς 9 2; μηδὲν for
 οὐδὲν 29 1
 μηδίζειν 7 1
 Μῆδος, ὁ the king of Persia 6 1
 μητω for οὐτω 5 3
 Μητρός λεπόν 31 1
 μηχανή αἰρειν 10 1
 μικρολογία 5 1
 μισθθαι 18 4
 μημονευόμενα, τὰ 11 2
 μητρικακέν 28 1
 μόνιμοι διπλέται 4 3
 μονονοῦ 32 2
 μορία, ἡ 19 2

Ν

ναυαρχῶν 12 3
 ναυαρχίς τριήρης 18 2
 ναυαρχος 18 1
 ναυκλῆρος 25 1
 νεανικῶς 8 1
 νέμειν 'to possess' 24 1
 νεώρον 20 1
 νικῶν 19 2
 νίθιον 'a half-alien' 1 1
 νοῦν ἔχειν 5 4; 18 2

O

δ: τὰ μὲν—τὰ δὲ 25 2
 ὅθεν 'by which means' 2 2,
 19 2, 29 2
 θοι=οῦ 'where' 8 2
 εἰκία: ἀτ' οἰκλας μεγάλης εἶναι
 5 3
 δλεθρος: εἰς δλεθρον 21 2
 δλιγαρχικὸς 3 2
 δλκᾶς 25 1
 δλος: τὰ δλα 8 1, 16 2, 16 3
 δμοῖς adverb. 31 2
 δμομήτριος 32 1
 δμοῦ (χωρὶς simul 12 1, 14
 3, 15 1, 18 1
 δμοῦ τι circiter, propemodum
 'nearly,' 'almost' 7 2
 δναρ adv. (Cobet var. lect. p.
 525) 26 2
 δνινημι: ἀνησαν 8 1
 δπώρα: τῆς ὁπώρας λαμβάνειν
 'to pick fruit' 10 3
 δργὴ ἔχει τινα 9 2; δ. βασιλικὴ
 24 2; δ' δργῆς ἔχειν τινα 24
 2; δργῆ 29 4
 δρέγεσθαι τινος 23 2
 δρκιατομεῖν 21 3
 δρμὴ ἡ πρὸς δόξαν 3 1
 δρμαλ νεότητος 2 5
 δσάκις 29 4
 οὐ=ubī 22 1
 οὐ μην ἀλλὰ 3 2, 5 4, 23 3, 29
 3
 οὐ πάνυ 4 2, 31 2
 οὐκ ἄρα 21 3
 οὐκ ἀξίουν nolle 7 2, 11 3
 οὐκ οἴδ' ὅπως neessio quo modo
 parenthetically 24 3
 οῦτως 24 3, 25 2; οὗτω δη 23 3
 δψις: ἐλθεῖν εἰς δψιν 29 3
 δψον 29 5

II

παιδαγωγὸς 12 2, 26 1
 παιδεῖς Ἀθαναλυ (Pindar) 8 2
 παιδεῖα: ἀνεν παιδεῖα 2 5

παιδεῖων: οἱ πεπαιδεῦσθαι δο-
 κοῦντες 2 3
 παιδεύσις for παιδεύμα 4 2
 παλλακεύσθαι 26 3
 παλλακὶς 31 2
 πανδοκεῖων (ex Timocresonte)
 21 2
 πάντως 2 2
 πάνυ: οὐ πάνυ 4 2
 πανταλεῖν πρὸς τινα 12 1
 παρά, cum dativo, Fr. chez,
 παρ' αὐτῷ εἶναι apud se esse,
 'to be at home'; παρά τινι
 εἶναι 5 2, 26 1; παρά τινι
 γίγνεσθαι 32 4
 cum accusativo:
 παρ' αὐτῷ τῷ δεινῷ γίγνεσθαι
 27 1; παρά τοὺς κινδύνους 8
 1; παρ' ἡλικιαν 2 2; παρά
 μέλοσάδειν=πλημμελῶς'out
 of tune'
 παραγγέλλεσθαι 12 1
 παραδίδοναι 14 2
 παραιρεῖσθαι τι τινος adimere
 alicui aliquid 4 3
 παραιτεῖσθαι recusare, deprecari
 'to decline' 8 3; δργὴν 28 1
 παρακαλεῖσθαι pass. 15 1
 παρακατατίθεσθαι 10 2
 παρακροβεσθαι, ludificari, deci-
 pere 19 1
 παραλαβεῖν τὴν δρχὴν 'to suc-
 ceed to the command' 7 1
 παραλλάττειν praeterire 30 1;
 παρηλλαγμένος 'strange' 24 2
 παρδλογος () ειδογος 13 2
 παραμυθία φθύνον 22 2
 παρανήσεσθαι 10 5
 παραπλῶ 'to coast' 9 1; 'to
 sail past' 25 2
 παράσημον insigne navis 8 1,
 15 2
 παρασκενή 5 2
 παράταξις 13 1
 παρατιθέναι τράπεζαν 29 4
 παράφορος πρὸς δόξαν 3 3
 παραφυλάττειν observare et ob-
 servanda insidiari 26 1, 20 2

- παρέναι πᾶσιν 16 2; ἐν τῷ πα-
 ρόντι 9 3
 παρέρχομαι: παρελθεῖν εἰς τὸ
 στάδιον 17 2; εἰς τὸν δῆμον 4 1
 παρέχειν ἀφορμὰς κατά τινος 23
 1; π. διαβολὴν καθ' αὐτοῦ 4
 3; π. δόξαν τινι 29 2; π. ὅκ-
 τον 10 5; παρέχειν ἑαυτὸν
 εὐλαβέστερον 31 2; παρέχειν
 ἑαυτὸν κριτήν ἀσφαλῆ 5 4;
 παρέχειν τινα πειθόμενον 7 2
 παρηγγαλαγμένος ν. θ. παραλλά-
 τειν
 παρίημι 12 2; παρέναι τὴν ἀρ-
 χὴν 7 2; τὰ παρειμένα ἔπαν-
 ορθοῦν 16 2
 οἱ παριόντες 4 1
 παρίστασθαι 18 1
 παροξύνειν τινα ἐπὶ μάχην 12 3;
 τοὺς διλυγαρχικοὺς ἐπὶ τὸν δῆ-
 μον 32 2
 παρορᾶσθαι 2 6
 παροχετεύειν 31 1
 πάσχειν: εἰν πάσχειν ὑπό τινος
 22 1
 πατάσσειν 11 3
 πατήρ: πατρὸς εἶναι 'to be the
 son of' 1 1
 πάτριον, *patrium institutum* 27
 2
 πεῖσθαι: τὰ πεῖδα 4 3
 Πειθὼ 21 2
 πέμπειν: τὰ πεμπτόμενα πωλεῖν
 5 1
 Πεντὰ 21 2
 ἡ περὶ τοῦ βίου μεταβολὴ 3 3
 οἱ περὶ Εὐρύβιδην = 'Eurybia-
 des himself' 7 3
 περιβάλλειν τὰς πτέρυγας 26 2
 περιβάλλεσθαι 12 2
 περιβοήτης 15 2
 περιβολαῖς *amplexus* 10 5
 περιείλπτεσθαι κατὰ τὴν γαστρὸς
 26 1
 περιέχεσθαι τινος 9 2
 περικεῖσθαι φύλιον 18 1
 περιπλήττειν *cum dat.* 15 2
 περιφράττεσθαι 26 3
 Περσὶς γλώσσα, ἡ 29 2
 πιτταρόσκειν 18 3
 πίστιν ἔχειν 12 3
 πλάσσειν 32 2
 Πλαταιάσια 16 3
 πλεῖν, said of things 25 2
 πλῆθος 'amount' 25 2; πλῆθη
 νέων 8 1
 πληροῦν τινι 10 3
 πλησιάζειν 2 4
 πνεῦμα λαμπτὸν 14 2
 ποιεῖν 'to represent' 24 3; ποι-
 εῖν τι εἰς τινα 'to compose
 about any one' 21 3; ποιεῖ-
 σθαι 'to consider' 10 4;
 ποιεῖσθαι (causal, 'to get
 made') αὐτοῦ εἰκόνας 5 4;
 πλοῦν 'to adopt' 32 1; ποιεῖ-
 σθαι γυνώμην 16 1; π. ἀναχώ-
 ρησιν 16 3; π. ἐπιτήδευμα
 2 4
 πολιτεῖα: ἀπτεσθαι τῆς πολι-
 τελας 25 2; ἐκπεσεῖν τῆς πο-
 λιτελας 23 2; ἀντίπαλον ἐν
 τῇ πολιτείᾳ καθιστάναι 20 2;
 ἀκμάζειν ἐν τῇ π. 24 2; πολι-
 τεῖαι 31 4
 πολιτεύεσθαι 2 5; π. πρὸς χάριν
 3 2
 πολλοστημόριον 16 3
 πολλός: οἱ πολλοὶ 2 6; τὰ πολλὰ
 3 3; ἀρέσκειν τοῖς πολλοῖς 5
 4; ἀπόρρητον πρὸς τοὺς πολ-
 λοὺς 20 1
 πομπὴς 17 2
 πόρος 12 2
 πόρωσθεν ἔτι 3 3
 πραγμάτεια 12 1
 πραγματεύεσθαι 19 2
 πρᾶξις 'intrigue' 2 3; πρᾶξεις
 'Ελληνικαὶ 30 1
 πρᾶσος 8 2
 πράττειν τὰ κοινὰ 2 6; πράττειν
 'to intrigue' 23 2; τὰ πρα-
 τόμενα 'intrigues' 23 2
 πρὸ 'in defence of' 9 2
 πρόδιγοι 20 2; προαγαγεῖν εἰς
 δόξαν 7 2

- προάρεσις** 2 1
προβάλλειν *proicere* 'to throw away' 22 1
προεξαίστασθαι 11 2
προήμι: *προέσθαι τινα* 'to betray,' 'abandon' 9 3; *προέσθαι* 7 3; *πρ. τινα δι' ἀργύριον* 21 2; *πρ. τὴν πατρίδα* 11 3; *πρ. βαῆθειαν* 12 1
πρόκειμα 32 3
προκρίνειν *τινά τυνος* 18 4
προτέπτειν 10 5
προπηλακισθεῖς 24 2
πρὸς ad in significando effectu:
πολιτεύεσθαι πρὸς χρήματα καλλίδεαν 3 2; *ἀμαυρότερα πρόσδεξαν* 1 1 (cf. Phoc. 1 τὴν Φωκίωνος αὔρητην...αἱ τύχαι τῆς Ἑλλάδος ἀμαυράν πρὸς δέξαιν ἐποιησαν, Sertor. 18 ἥνθει τότε μάλιστα πρὸς δέξαιν, Arist. 25 πολιτεύεσθαι πρὸς ἀρετήν, Phoc. 8 οὐδὲ ἡνθησεν ἐν τῇ πολιτείᾳ πρὸς χάριν; πρὸς χάριν τι πράγτεων dicitur vel ubi agentis illa χάρις est vel ubi alterius est, ut sit et alterius gratum facere, ad alterius studium se accommodare et gratia, favore, studio permotum facere aut fieri sinere, Fab. c. 20, Dion. c. 8, Cat. min. c. 42, Schömann ad *Agid.* 2, 6); *πρὸς μητρὸς* 'on the mother's side' 1 1; *σύννονος πρὸς ἑαυτῷ* 8 3; *πρὸς τὴν θαλάσσην* 2 6; *πρὸς ἑαυτὸν λόγους συντάχτεσθαι* 2 1; *πρὸς τὴν χώραν ἀποστρέφειν* τὸ βῆμα 19 3
προσάγεσθαι 10 1
προσαμίνειν 9 2
προσ-αν-έρπειν 26 2
προσδέρχεσθαι 28 2
προσέχειν *τινι* 2 4, 7 1, 14 2, 31 2, 32 2
προσέστεσθαι διαβολὴν 22 1
προσκατασκευάζειν 16 2
προσκράψειν *τινι* 20 2
προσκυνέιν 28 1; 29 1
προσμάττειν 19 3
προσμηγνύαι 7 2
πρόσθοδος *Δαινερωτικὴ* 4 2
προσοφλισκάνειν 5 3
προσπειρβάλλεσθαι 7 2
προσπίκτειν: *τὸ προσπίκτον* 18
I
προστίθεναι *τινι* 'to attribute' to' 1 2; *προστίθεναι ἑαυτὸν τινι* 11 1; *προστίθεσθαι τῷ γνώμῃ* 12 1
προσφατος (τὸ παλαιὸς 24 2
προσφέρειν λόγον 31 1
προσφέρεσθαι *iπνεῖν* 'to attack' 14 2; 15 2; 30 2; *προσεγγίζειν* κάμενος φάρμακον (*ἰρρεῖ εἰδί οἱ αἴστονες*) 31 4
προτιθέναι; *προτίθεσθαι τινι αρ-ρονι* 10 1
πρωτεῖν, τὸ 17 1
πρωτεύειν 8 1; 17 2
πταρδὸς 18 2
Πυλαγόραι, οἱ 20 2
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